

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem
Bölcsészettudományi Kar

Doktori Disszertáció

Száler Péter

On the Road with Kālidāsa

COUNTRIES, CITIES AND SACRED PLACES

Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola
Vezető: Dr Tolcsvai Nagy Gábor, DSc
Ókortudomány Doktori Program
Vezető: Dr Déri Balázs, PhD

A bizottság tagjai és tudományos fokozatuk:
Dr Déri Balázs, PhD (elnök)
Dr Balogh Dániel, PhD (bíráló)
Dr Ruzsa Ferenc, DSc (bíráló)
Dr Ittész Máté, PhD (titkár)
Dr Renner Zsuzsanna, PhD (tag)
Dr Hidas Gergely, DPhil (póttag)
Dr Négyesi Mária, PhD (póttag)

Témavezető:
Dr Dezső Csaba, DPhil

Budapest, 2019.

ADATLAP
a doktori értekezés nyilvánosságra hozatalához

I. A doktori értekezés adatai

A szerző neve: Száler Péter

MTMT-azonosító: 10052234

A doktori értekezés címe és alcíme: On the Road with Kālidāsa. Countries, Cities and Sacred Places.

DOI-azonosító: 10.15476/ELTE2019.112

A doktori iskola neve: Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola

A doktori iskolán belüli doktori program neve: Ókortudomány

A témavezető neve és tudományos fokozata: Dr Dezső Csaba, DPhil

A témavezető munkahelye: ELTE BTK, Indológia Tanszék

II. Nyilatkozatok

1. A doktori értekezés szerzőjeként

a) hozzájárok, hogy a doktori fokozat megszerzését követően a doktori értekezésem és a tézisek nyilvánosságra kerüljenek az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárban. Felhatalmazom az ELTE BTK Doktori és Tudományszervezési Iroda ügyintézőjét, hogy az értekezést és a téziseket feltöltse az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárba, és ennek során kitöltse a feltöltéshez szükséges nyilatkozatokat.

b) kérem, hogy a mellékelt kérelemben részletezett szabadalmi, illetőleg oltalmi bejelentés közzétételéig a doktori értekezést ne bocsássák nyilvánosságra az Egyetemi Könyvtárban és az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárban;

c) kérem, hogy a nemzetbiztonsági okból minősített adatot tartalmazó doktori értekezést a minősítés (dátum)-ig tartó időtartama alatt ne bocsássák nyilvánosságra az Egyetemi Könyvtárban és az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárban;

d) kérem, hogy a mű kiadására vonatkozó mellékelt kiadó szerződésre tekintettel a doktori értekezést a könyv megjelenéséig ne bocsássák nyilvánosságra az Egyetemi Könyvtárban, és az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárban csak a könyv bibliográfiai adatait tegyék közzé. Ha a könyv a fokozatszerzést követően egy évig nem jelenik meg, hozzájárom, hogy a doktori értekezésem és a tézisek nyilvánosságra kerüljenek az Egyetemi Könyvtárban és az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárban.

2. A doktori értekezés szerzőjeként kijelentem, hogy

a) az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárba feltöltendő doktori értekezés és a tézisek saját eredeti, önálló szellemi munkám és legjobb tudomásom szerint nem sértem vele senki szerzői jogait;

b) a doktori értekezés és a tézisek nyomtatott változatai és az elektronikus adathordozón benyújtott tartalmak (szöveg és ábrák) mindenben megegyeznek.

3. A doktori értekezés szerzőjeként hozzájárulok a doktori értekezés és a tézisek szövegének

Plágiumkereső adatbázisba helyezéséhez és plágiumellenőrző vizsgálatok lefuttatásához.

Kelt:

Budapest, 2019.06.23.



a doktori értekezés szerzőjének aláírása

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Csaba Dezső. His deep knowledge was undisputedly the greatest help in writing this dissertation.

My thanks are also due to Balázs Déri who admitted my research in a doctoral programme in antiquities. In this way, I am grateful for the full scholarship provided by Eötvös Loránd University and for the support offered by the ÚNKP-18-13 New National Excellence Program of the Ministry of Human Capacities.

I say thank to those eminent scholars, including my teachers and friends, who, in various forms, helped my work, particularly Dániel Balogh, Roland Ferenczi, Balázs Gaál, Gergely Hidas, Máté Ittész, Csaba Kiss, Gábor Kósa, Mária Négyesi, Sándor Pajor, Ferenc Ruzsa, Miklós Sárközy and Ibolya Tóth. Besides, I offer thanks to Mariann Matuska for proofreading and polishing my English.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my family, especially to my wife, Tímea, who never failed to encourage me during my work. Finally, I express my gratitude to my late grandfather, who was the very first reader of the following pages, and who had lent me Baktay's Hungarian résumé of the *Mahābhārata*, an excellent book impelling me to learn Sanskrit.

Table of Contents

Introduction	7
Technical Remarks	11
Kālidāsa and the World.....	13
Pūrvadeśa	18
Bengal.....	20
Raghu's flood	26
Utkala and Kalinga	29
Raghu tames the Kalingan elephant	31
Dakṣiṇāpatha	37
Raghu cajoles the South	46
Pāścimadeśa.....	53
Aparānta	53
Raghu on Paraśurāma's field	60
Persia	71
Raghu, the ascetic	78
Uttarapatha	86
Bactria	87
The North warms up	93
The Himālayan region.....	98
The meeting of the emperors	106
Prāgjyotiṣa	115
The deification of Raghu.....	118
Concluding words	121
Kālidāsa and the Country.....	123
Pristine Space	127
The Ocean.....	133
Viṣṇu and the ocean.....	134
The king of the waters.....	140
The Himālaya.....	152
Śiva's home	154
The Mountain king.....	162
Between two worldviews.....	173

Cultivated Space.....	176
Rural Space.....	178
The Forest.....	181
The Village	185
The Āśrama.....	188
Places of pilgrimage.....	198
Urban Space	203
Pāṭaliputra	208
Ayodhyā.....	209
Ujjayinī.....	216
Vidīśā.....	230
Mathurā.....	236
Concluding words	246
Kālidāsa and the Home	249
Conclusions	257
Appendices.....	260
Citations	261
Maps	325
Bibliography	333
Primary Sources.....	334
Secondary Sources	342

Introduction

Space surrounds us. We not only inhabit it, but spatiality determines our culture, our thinking. Space, in this way, looks like a fairly incomprehensible abstraction, the key feature of which, in accordance with Heidegger's approach, is that it forms an essential part of human existence.¹

Recently, however, a couple of scholars called attention to another basic characteristic of space. According to them, space cannot be regarded as "a neutral box, in which historical actions take place",² but it is rather a human construction developed under (perhaps) social expectations.³

Actually, these two attitudes suggest a differentiation between Space and spaces. Space in itself is an abstract entity, about which, though, we have experiences, we are yet unable to comprehend it in its totality. The several societies, cultures and individuals, therefore, construct spaces with the help of their spatial experiences. Spaces are well-built systems, which provide models of the incomprehensible Space.

Spaces, unlike Space, are human products, and therefore, they can be represented. The most typical means of this is the map. The main goal of the map is objectivity, due to which it adopts a kind of God's view.⁴ However, because the object of the map is space (not Space), maps never become absolutely objective. In connection with this, we should think of the modern maps of the World. In Europe, usually, we consider it normal that the European continent takes place in the middle of such maps, but we are surprised if we see an Australian map, in which Australia occupies the same position. In this way, maps, just as spaces, though they work towards objectivity, never get rid of subjectivity completely.

After transforming Space into space, there ordinarily occurs the "conquest of the space". This means that the societies, cultures and individuals distinguish places within space. Following Yi-Fu Tuan's definition, if space becomes better known and associated with values, it transforms into place.⁵ Here, we also arrive at the main subject of this dissertation, which is Kālidāsa's landscapes. What do one's landscapes tell us at all?

First, the landscape (or landscape painting) is the typical genre of the place. They, more accurately, uncover the means by which the poet creates places in the homogeneity of the space. Landscapes, therefore, differ from maps focusing mainly on space. They are organised around arbitrary focal points,⁶ as a result of which they, intentionally, abandon the general objectivity. Because their object is always a momentary

¹ HEIDEGGER 2000: 151.

² ROHKRÄMER – SCHULZ 2009: 1345.

³ LEFEBVRE 1991: 30.

⁴ TUAN 2001: 123.

⁵ TUAN 2001: 6.

⁶ TUAN 2001: 123.

scene, landscapes are historic.⁷ And finally landscapes, following Simon Schama's suggestion, reveal culture:

"Landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock."⁸

From this view, Kālidāsa's landscapes are cultural markers, which I intend to decode to a certain degree on the following pages. Yet, before getting lost in Kālidāsa's spatial world, it is necessary to lay down some guidelines.

Among the means of spatial representation, European culture engaged with perspective. Although the employment of this technique is usually associated with Renaissance painting, the perspectival view may affect European culture and thinking comprehensively. However, what makes this view so peculiar? To answer this question, I would refer to Erwin Panofsky, who grasps the essence of the perspective in the following way:

"die perspektivische Anschauung, ob man sie nun mehr im Sinne der Ratio und des Objektivismus, oder mehr im Sinne der Zufälligkeit und des Subjektivismus auswertet und ausdeutet, beruht auf dem Willen, den Bildraum (wenn auch unter noch so weitgehender Abstraktion von dem psycho-physiologisch „Gegebenen“) grundsätzlich aus den Elementen und nach dem Schema des empirischen Sehraums aufzubauen"⁹

Thus, the perspectival image always represents a momentary print of the empirical field of vision. The focal point of such an image is necessarily fixed,¹⁰ since its various distances from the perceived objects are responsible for the visibility. This means of spatial representation, though it plays central role in European culture, is neglected in Kālidāsa's descriptions of places.

The lack of the perspective, however, does not mean that the spatiality is also omitted in Kālidāsa's landscapes. Quite the contrary, the qualities of the space are as much immanent as in the case of the perspectival images. Actually, the method followed by Kālidāsa breaks with the foundation stone of perspective, and it appoints a continuously moving entity to be the focaliser. In this way, not the established distances between the focal point and the spatial elements, but the only fact that the focaliser can freely change its positions inside the space, is responsible for the spatiality. While the perspective transmits window-like images of places,¹¹ Kālidāsa's landscapes rather remind us of the kaleidoscope. In this latter case, though the number of the spatial elements is

⁷ TUAN 2001: 122.

⁸ SCHAMA 1995: 61.

⁹ PANOFSKY 1980: 126.

¹⁰ PANOFSKY 1980: 101.

¹¹ PANOFSKY 1980: 99.

limited with regard to the topical place, the continuous moving of the focaliser is yet able to reveal new and new appearances of the landscape.

The focal point is, in this way, determined, on the one hand, by the vertical, on the other hand, by the horizontal move of the focaliser. Among them, the verticality is rather transcendental. In Steinbock's words, it is "the vector of mystery and reverence".¹² The vertical move prevails Kālidāsa's description of the ocean and the Himālaya, places which are inherently affected by the presence of the transcendence. Perhaps, it is due to this spiritual aspect, that the verticality also occurs as a structuring principle in Kālidāsa's space. With regard to the height of the focal point, there can be three so-called spatial levels separated. These levels, in fact, do not fasten the vertical position, but instead they mark off upper limits, above which the focaliser does not rise.

The first among them takes after the God's view of the maps, and it is intent on describing the immanent world. On this (macro-)level, therefore, the various countries occur as the principal unit of the descriptions. The second (mezzo-)level corresponds to that what we usually call bird's eye view. The focaliser is still above, however it is exclusively Kālidāsa's own country, which occupies the field of vision. Finally, on the third (micro-)level, the home becomes focalised. Here, the great distances disappear, and intimacy emerges.

The spatial levels outline, thus, the main chapters of this dissertation. Correspondingly, I sort Kālidāsa's landscapes into three groups entitled "Kālidāsa and the World", "Kālidāsa and the Country", and finally "Kālidāsa and the Home".

Beyond this central, structuring role of verticality, we should not neglect the horizontal move of the focaliser either. The horizontal move is closer to the human existence. As Steinbock suggests, it is "within reach, graspable and controllable".¹³ Although verticality is responsible for the structure of Kālidāsa's spatial world, it is still the horizontality, which guides us from place to place on several spatial levels. The continuous horizontal move causes, therefore, the landscapes to transform into images of an eternal journey through India seen by Kālidāsa.

¹² STEINBOCK 2007: 13.

¹³ STEINBOCK 2007: 13.

TECHNICAL REMARKS

If one starts to explore Kālidāsa's poetry, he or she will encounter the problem soon that these works exist in several versions. With regard to our above-proposed objectives, it is still necessary to define our attitude to the different recensions in which Kālidāsa's works are available today.

Touching on this problem and covering Indian textual transmission in general, Gérard Colas's pragmatic view is worth mentioning:

"Indian textual criticism of the classical period did not aim at retrieving the original work (except as an idealized text), but aimed to provide "good" text. Its criteria depended on the audience and the textual field under consideration."¹⁴

These words summarise well the difficulties waiting for those who are keen on studying Sanskrit literature (*kāvya*). Furthermore, the Indian tradition regards Kālidāsa as an exemplary, what is more, divine poet. This means that his works especially needed to suit the requirements of the grammatical, aesthetical as well as theological textbooks known as unquestionable authorities among the transmitters. However, the prestige of these textbooks always depended on space and time. In this way, the so-called "Kālidāsa-philology" works on establishing geographically as well as chronologically separated recensions rather than on reconstructing Kālidāsa's Ur-text.

Luckily, most of Kālidāsa's works are preserved in commentaries which are quite helpful in detecting causes behind textual corruptions. Among these commentaries, Vallabhadeva's works, namely the *Kumārasambhavaṭīkā*, the *Meghadūtavivṛti*, and the *Raghupañcikā* have a distinct role. On the one hand, these were composed in Kashmir, an isolated area of the Subcontinent, on the other hand, they are the oldest available commentaries written on Kālidāsa's works.

Dominic Goodall cited a great number of examples from the *Raghuvamśa* attesting that the text preserved in Vallabhadeva's commentary was, on the whole, more archaic than the readings of the other recensions. In addition, Goodall distinguished several special causes which, beyond the common cases of textual corruption, may have prompted the transmitters to alter the text:

- errors of grammar and syntax (cf. *Raghuvamśa* 3.25; *Raghuvamśa N_{ed}* 3.25.)
- errors of geography (cf. *Raghuvamśa* 4.48; *Raghuvamśa N_{ed}* 4.54.)
- errors of taste (cf. *Raghuvamśa* 4.49; *Raghuvamśa N_{ed}* 4.46.)

¹⁴ COLAS 1999: 40.

- enrichments of figures of speech (cf. *Raghuvamśa* 3.3; *Raghuvamśa Ned* 3.3.)¹⁵

In this dissertation, I adopt these basic remarks in connection with the testimony of Kālidāsa's works. Just like Goodall, I also prefer the readings of the Kashmirian recension, where they were at hand. Besides, I think that it is unavoidable to take the other recensions into consideration. In this way, I aim to show the most striking variants, and moreover to ascertain the better or more archaic readings among them in accordance with Goodall's above-listed points.

These remarks may indicate that this dissertation consists of a great number of explanations of Sanskrit verses quoted from Kālidāsa's works, which I present therefore word for word in the body text. Apart from Kālidāsa's verses, I refer to many other Sanskrit texts, such as commentaries, parallel texts, etc, some of which are included in the Appendices. Those references, which I made available in the Appendices, are distinguished with the sign • in the footnotes.

The Sanskrit citations are given in analysed form with Latin script in both the body text and the Appendices. The Sanskrit words are written separately:

āsīnmahikṣitāmādyah *āsīn mahikṣitām ādyah* (*Raghuvamśa* 1.11.d)

When a final vowel merged into a following vowel, I used apostrophe (') after the end of the word:

syādvihatā tavaivam *syād vihatā tav'aivam* (*Raghuvamśa* 255.c)

When a final vowel merged into a short *a*, *i* or *u*, I used the following characters: *â*, *î* (*ê*) and *û* (*ô*):

<i>viharāmburaśes</i>	<i>vihar'āmburaśes</i> (<i>Raghuvamśa</i> 6.57.a)
<i>nimajjatīndoh</i>	<i>nimajjat'īndoh</i> (<i>Kumārasaṃbhava</i> 1.3.d)
<i>dviradasyeva</i>	<i>dviradasy'eva</i> (<i>Raghuvamśa</i> 4.40.c)
<i>teṣūpāyanapāṇiṣu</i>	<i>teṣ'ūpāyanapāṇiṣu</i> (<i>Raghuvamśa</i> 4.82.b)
<i>athonnasam</i>	<i>ath'ōnnasam</i> (<i>Raghuvamśa</i> 6.59.a)

The divisions of compounds (excepting proper names and titles) are also punctuated by hyphen (-):

Harajataḥbhrāṣṭām *Hara-jaṭā-bhraṣṭām* (*Raghuvamśa* 4.33.c)

In compounds, when a final vowel merged into a following vowel, I used caret (^) after the end of the word:

kumārānayanotsukena *kumār^ānayan^ôtsukena* (*Raghuvamśa* 5.39.c)

¹⁵ GOODALL 2001: 103–107.

Kālidāsa and the World

How did Kālidāsa imagine his place in the world? Which were the borders of his culture? And what did the foreign and the barbarian mean for him? These are the key issues, with which I deal in the first part of my dissertation.

Concerning these questions, it is difficult to find a more convenient source than the fourth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*.¹⁶ It describes Raghu's conquest of the earth (*digvijaya*). This topic serves in fact as a frame for Kālidāsa to draw a panoramic picture about the divisions of his world. Among the several means, Kālidāsa prefers "rivalry" and "conflict" to make visible the space on the most comprehensive, macro-level.¹⁷

The description of the *digvijaya* as a genre is found in epic literature, though these earliest representations can be hardly regarded as literary compositions,¹⁸ but instead bear a resemblance to the folk lists of the early cosmological works. From this view, the *Raghuvamśa* seems to be a milestone, because it is the first example for the poetic way in which the old topic of the *digvijaya* was elaborated. Instead of the epic enumeration, we find an extended series of shot-like poetic images about foreign countries, among which the theme of Raghu's conquest makes coherence. Thus, it is perhaps not an exaggeration to compare the significance of this description to that of the *Meghadūta* in the evolution of the *dūtakāvya*s, since it similarly inspired many later poets, such as Somadeva,¹⁹ Kalhaṇa²⁰ and Vākpatirāja.²¹

Our introductory questions, on the other hand, indicate the mythical character of the place described by Kālidāsa. This announcement, nevertheless, does not ensue from the choice of the topic. Of course, it is true that the happenings of the *Raghuvamśa* occur in the mythical past, the scene usually does not harmonise with it. Kālidāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa*-elaboration²² is an exception, in which the poet adopts not only the storyline, but also the epic topography. In most cases, however, he seemingly leaned on his own geographical knowledge, as a result of which, the events of the mythical recollection are embedded in such a scenic setting, which might mirror the contemporary physical reality. Based on this, quite a few theories have been put forward, which give notice of the historical readings of the *Raghuvamśa*. Among them, Ingalls only calls attention to the parallels between the poem and Gupta culture,²³ while others such as Gawroński and Pollock identify the heroes of the *Raghuvamśa* with factual emperors.²⁴

¹⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.33–91.

¹⁷ TUAN 2001: 178.

¹⁸ *Mahābhārata* 2.23.1–29.19; 7.4.4–7.

¹⁹ *Kathāsaritsāgara* 3.5.52–118.

²⁰ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 4.131–178.

²¹ *Gaṇḍavaho* 419–439.

²² *Raghuvamśa* 10.1–15.103.

²³ INGALLS 1976: 18–19.

²⁴ GAWROŃSKI 1914–1918: 43–82; POLLOCK 2006: 241.

Although I do not decline the relevance of these interpretations, and quite the contrary, I intend to take into consideration their remarks on the following pages, I still uphold that it is the mythical, and not the pragmatic function of the space, which mainly determines the description. The reason, why I lay this claim, is the essence of the mythological thinking, which is to assign proper place to the man in the world.²⁵ In connection with this, Yi-Fu Tuan points out that space is able to perform mythical function. With regard to its practical manifestation, Tuan introduces two spatial schemata:

“In the one, mythical space is a fuzzy area of defective knowledge surrounding the empirically known; it frames pragmatic space. In the other it is the spatial component of a world view, a conception of localized values within which people carry on their practical activities.”²⁶

Because Kālidāsa’s description provides a precise map-like account about the foreign countries, it corresponds to Tuan’s second category, which he characterises in the following way:

“The second schema puts man at the center of a world defined by the cardinal points.”²⁷

Tuan puts stress on two main characteristics, which are the anthropocentrism and the importance of the defining cardinal points. In connection with the first, he calls attention to the fact that it is always the man, around whom the mythic space is composed. However, this statement by nature involves the need to define who the man occupying the centre of the world is in Kālidāsa’s poem.

To give a proper answer for this, the only fact, that Kālidāsa wrote his works in Sanskrit, seems remarkable. This presupposes an intellectual readership, the members of which are versed in the right usage of the Sanskrit language. According to Patañjali, these men are the *śiṣṭas*, whose speech is recorded in grammatical works. However, because the right usage of the language presupposes the familiarity with the science of grammar, Patañjali is intent on avoiding circular argumentation, and defines the *śiṣṭas* by their abode, which he recognises as Āryāvarta.²⁸ This close dependence between the *śiṣṭa* and his environment, on the other hand, modifies a bit Tuan’s conception about the universal man at the centre of the cosmos. In Kālidāsa’s case, it is not a common man, but, in Deshpande’s words, a member of a “linguistic elite”,²⁹ which manifests itself in the heart of the world. Furthermore, because this “linguistic elite” is known as

²⁵ DAVIDSON 1990: 9; SZILÁGYI 1977: 125.

²⁶ TUAN 2001: 86.

²⁷ TUAN 2001: 91.

²⁸ *Mahābhāṣya* 6.3.109. p. 174. •.

²⁹ DESHPANDE 1993: 80.

people of a concrete location, there appears the idea of the central place in the Indian thinking.

However, touching on what this central place called Āryāvarta was exactly, the several *dharmaśāstras* propose different opinions. The earlier sources focus mainly on geographical points such as the Himālaya and the Vindhya,³⁰ determinable, exact borders which, nevertheless, lost their significance for Kālidāsa's time in consequence of the expansion of the "*śiṣṭa*" (i. e. *brāhmaṇical*) culture. In this way, the later authorities tend to conceptualise Āryāvarta as a cultural unit, which is distinguished by its peculiar social structure (*varṇāśrama*), religious rules,³¹ and, as we have seen in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the spread of the Sanskrit language. On the theoretical level, therefore, Kālidāsa's civilisation rises as a single pure land, the relation of which with its neighbouring, barbarian (*mleccha*) countries is minimised as much as possible.³²

This concept of the select civilisation, however, causes by nature conflict considering the idea of the empire building. War implies interaction with foreign people, which is, therefore, an impure activity. Furthermore, if it is exclusively the scope of Āryāvarta that is regarded as being convenient for sacrificing, the conquest of the foreign countries seems completely vain. Perhaps this is echoed by Arrian's words saying that "the Indian kings were prevented from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India".³³

In practice, we still see that there were empires born one after another even in the ancient period, which apparently paid not too much attention to the cultural boundaries. To resolve this contradiction, it is often supposed that the idea of the empire was elaborated under Achaemenian influence.³⁴ As another possibility, the fact, that the very first Indian empire builders such as the Nandas and the Mauryas were followers of heterodox doctrines, emerges. Because these movements involve the mission, namely the claim to propagate their teachings for the infidels, the imperial attempts can be understood as contribution to it. Perhaps, they were these early conquerors, who introduced the idea of the *cakravartin* referring to such an idealised ruler, who held alone sway over the "known part" of the Earth regarded as the land of the *cakravartin* (*cakravarti-kṣetra*).³⁵ This area, therefore, differs from Āryāvarta, since its borders have remained for all time geographically determined. The idea, on the other hand, has achieved an unmatched importance in the Indian history. The position of the *cakravartin* developed into the main goal for the later empire builders, including those such as

³⁰ *Baudhāyana-dharmaśūtra* 1.1.2.9.; *Mahābhārata* 14.96.15.*4.2494–2495.

³¹ *Manusmṛti* 2.22–23.; *Viṣṇusmṛti* 84.4.

³² PARASHER 1991: 115.

³³ MCCRINDLE 1877: 204.

³⁴ KULKE – ROTHERMUND 2002: 55.

³⁵ *Arthaśāstra* 1.18.

the Śuṅgas and the Guptas, who had already submitted themselves to the *brāhmaṇical* order. Although the Gupta inscriptions, as far as I know, do not contain any occurrences of the word *cakravartin*, it is attested by many references that these rulers regarded themselves as conquerors of the whole Earth.³⁶

In this way, Kālidāsa's panorama about the world embraces the concepts of both Āryāvarta and the *cakravarti-kṣetra*. The scope of Raghu's conquest in its totality corresponds rather to the *cakravarti-kṣetra*. It is a geographically well-determined place extending from the ranges of the Himālaya till the ocean. The focus point, on the other hand, from which this whole description is organised, is Āryāvarta, the distinct home of the *śiṣṭas*. Because, as we have seen, Āryāvarta is a culturally well-separated place, Kālidāsa's world seems hierarchised well. The land of the *cakravartin* is to comprise those countries, which should be hegemonised from the middle land corresponding to Āryāvarta.

As Tuan pointed out, the other key feature of the mythical place is the establishment of the cardinal points. With regard to this, Kālidāsa's description seems to be analogous with the geographical detachment, that we find in Rājaśekhara's later, poetical work.³⁷ According to it, there are four "continents" around the middle land (called Madhyadeśa by Rājaśekhara), which correspond to the four cardinal directions. Although Rājaśekhara describes these main lands in a stereotypical way, in Kālidāsa's case they serve only to lay out the structure of the description, and the represented countries possess individual hallmarks inside them. The presence of the continents, on the other hand, underlies that Raghu's conquest is not led against several countries, but it is a *digvijaya*, an undertaking to gain mastery over all of the directions. Furthermore, there occur sacrifices preceding as well as following the military journey,³⁸ from which William S. Sax concluded the religious aspect of the *digvijayas*.³⁹ According to him, their role might be similar to the Vedic *āsvamedhas*.⁴⁰ In this way, Raghu's conquest not only pronounces his imperial claim, but also serves the sanctification of the known world.

Finally, we should pay attention to the narratological role of the description. I think that the fourth canto can be truly regarded as an introduction. It delineates in fact the borders of the rising empire, a place which becomes scene in the following cantos, and which may correspond to Kālidāsa's culture. However, because the foreign countries of Raghu's conquest are at first focalised, the introduction of the upcoming scene happens in a bit unusual, indirect way.

³⁶ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* 17. p. 93–94.

³⁷ *CII Vol. 3*. No. 1. p. 8. l. 29•, No. 6. p. 35. l. 5•, No. 12. p. 49. l. 14–15•.

³⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 4.25, 4.86.

³⁹ SAX 2000: 44.

⁴⁰ SAX 2000: 42.

PŪRVADEŚA

Raghu started the conquest of the Earth with the annihilation of Pūrvadeśa. This name was widely used for all countries situated to the East of Āryāvarta.⁴¹ Although the numerous geographical texts listed various places belonging to this region, Kālidāsa only concentrated on two prominent ones, the countries of Bengal and Kalinga.

The categorisation of the latter territory, however, is a bit uncertain, because it was often grouped among the southern countries.⁴² The reasons why I, nevertheless, place Kalinga in Pūrvadeśa are two. On the one hand, it is the structure of Kālidāsa's description, which is supplemented by the fact that Raghu adopts the same policy towards both the Bengali and the Kalingan people. Raghu restores the subjugated kings here to their former positions which incidentally corresponds to Samudra Gupta's strategy introduced in the Ilāhābād Pillar Inscription.⁴³

On the other hand, both the Bengali and the Kalingan people have a common origin myth. Most of the traditional genealogies claim that the easterners are related to certain people of the Northwest such as the Madras, Śibis, Yaudheyas, etc, because all these ethnicities are derived from a common progenitor called Mahāmanas whose two sons, Uśinara and Titikṣu were the forefathers of the Western and the Eastern branch.⁴⁴

Some of the genealogical lists⁴⁵ maintain that Mahāmanas descended from Anu, one of Yayāti's cursed sons.⁴⁶ The word *ānu* was incidentally used in the Vedic language⁴⁷ as a simple denomination of the non-Āryan people.⁴⁸ Hence Robert Shafer was quite convinced that even the name of their forefather could hint at their foreign origin.⁴⁹

However, the identification of the Eastern people with Anu's children does not seem as certain as Shafer supposed. We can observe another way of grouping in the *Harivaṃ-*

⁴¹ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* 17. p. 93.●.

⁴² *Brahma-purāṇa* 19.16.cd, 27.54–58.a; *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 1.16.55.c–59.c; *Kūrma-purāṇa* 1.45.40.ab; *Vāmana-purāṇa* 13.46.c–49; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 2.3.16.ab.

⁴³ GAWRONSKI 1914–1918: 43–82; POLLOCK 2006: 241.

⁴⁴ *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* 9.23.2.c–14.b; *Brahma-purāṇa* 13.19–49; *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 2.74.15–34; *Harivaṃśa* 23.20–41; *Matsya-purāṇa* 48.15–29.

⁴⁵ *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* 9.23.1–14.b; *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 2.74.12.c–34; *Matsya-purāṇa* 48.10–29.

⁴⁶ Yayāti just like an Indian Noah is honoured as the progenitor of all mankind. Since he became unexpectedly old in consequence of the curse of his father-in-law, Kāvya Uśanas (Śukra), the upset king asked his sons to give him their own youth. Among his children, however, only the youngest one, Pūru complied with his request, and therefore Yayāti cursed his other ungenerous sons, namely Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu, as a result of which, their descendants became impure barbarians. (*Mahābhārata* 1.79.1–80.27).

⁴⁷ *Rgveda* 5.4.31.a.

⁴⁸ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 31.

⁴⁹ SHAFER 1954: 18.

śa as well as in the *Brahma-purāṇa*. These sources associate Mahāmanas's offspring with Pūru,⁵⁰ the only one among Yayāti's sons who escaped the curse of his father. Thus, there was another tradition beside the Ānava heritage, which simultaneously attempted to certify the purity of these people.

Their outsider status, by all means, seems to be established in the late centuries B. C. The *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*, for example, prescribes several purifying rituals to those travellers who visit Eastern countries such as Kaliṅga and Vaṅga.⁵¹

Though the epics and the *purāṇas* do not always spell this out, still, the bad pedigree of these people was often in the minds of their author. As it is related in the *purāṇic* sources, a king called Bali had five sons called Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, and Suhma, who were identical with the immediate progenitors of the above mentioned people.⁵² He himself, however, was unable to beget offspring, and therefore, appointed a *brāhmaṇa* called Dīrghatamas to produce descendants for him,⁵³ a type of succession which was recognised in *brāhmaṇical* society who named the sons born in this manner *kṣet-rajā*.⁵⁴ Although the *dharmaśāstras* apparently do not prohibit this custom,⁵⁵ it could not have been highly recommended since several references to the disadvantageous state of the *kṣetrajās* were incorporated in the *Manusmṛti*, on the authority of which they were excluded from the essential rites (*kriyā-lopāḥ*), and were despised as son-substitutes (*putra-pratinidhi*).⁵⁶

Furthermore, the common judgment about Bali's progeny could be even more complicated because in their case, the *kṣatriya* king was replaced by a *brāhmaṇa* which resulted in an unwanted mixture of the *varṇas*.

⁵⁰ *Brahma-purāṇa* 13.2–49; *Harivaṃśa* 23.4–41.

⁵¹ *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* 1.1.2.14.●.

⁵² Although the appellation of this king naturally reminds us of the notorious demon king defeated by Viṣṇu's *vāman*-*avatāra*, they are usually interpreted as two separate figures. (PARGITER 1922: 131.) However, I am not certain that there was such a strict distinction between them since both the *Brahmāṇḍa*- and the *Matsya-purāṇa* allude to the demonic nature of the Ānava king with such epithets as “*dānava*” (*Matsya-p.* 48.67.d) or “*dānav*” (*arṣabha*)” (*Brahmāṇḍa-p.* 2.74.68.b; *Matsya-p.* 48.60.b) and moreover, use Vairocana as his patronym (*Brahmāṇḍa-p.* 2.74.66.d, 2.74.74.b, 2.74.99.d; *Matsya-p.* 48.58.d, 48.89.b), even though no Virocana is found in the above discussed genealogies, though he was well-known as the father of Viṣṇu's infamous enemy. These *purāṇas*, furthermore, maintain that Bali was born from a human mother in a dynasty the line of which had broken (*jāto manusya-yonyāṃ vai kṣīṇe vaṃśe praj*^*epsayā*) | *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* 2.74.26.ab; *Matsya-p.* 48.23.cd with *tu* instead of *vai*), which may further affirm the impression that it was the former demon king who incarnated himself as a mortal ruler to save the Ānava lineage.

⁵³ *Harivaṃśa* 23.27.b–32; *Mahābhārata* 1.98.6–33; *Agni-p.* 276.11; *Bhāgavata-p.* 9.23.5–6.b; *Brahma-p.* 13.28.d–36; *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* 2.74.25–102; *Matsya-p.* 48.23–91.

⁵⁴ *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* 2.2.3.17; *Manusmṛti* 9.167.

⁵⁵ *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* 2.2.3.31; *Gautama-dharmasūtra* 3.10.30; *Manusmṛti* 9.159.

⁵⁶ *Manusmṛti* 9.180.●.

The *dharmic* literature incidentally stated that the *kṣetraja* children possessed two fathers and two lineages (*gotra*).⁵⁷ Thus Bali's sons were not only *kṣatriyas* but also Brahmins. This peculiarity corresponds well to the *purāṇic* accounts, since these texts name them *Bāleya kṣatriyas* as well as *Bāleya brāhmaṇas*.⁵⁸ In any case, the fame of Bali's five sons as the founders of the Eastern kingdoms, in spite of their anomalous ancestry, was so great in that region that some of the sources paradoxically ascribed to them the *Āryanization* of the East, too.⁵⁹

BENGAL

The presence of *pre-āryan* civilisations on the Plain of Bengal seems to be probable, but even so, we do not have too much historical data about them. The existing archaeological relics, though their number is low, hint at the advanced level of these peoples.⁶⁰ Although there is little chance to determine their exact origin, it is still accepted by most scholars that modern Bengalis arose as a mixture of several ethnic groups.⁶¹ To these details, Shafer's linguistic supposition can be added, according to which the majority of these cultures might have been Sino-Tibetan. This heritage could be preserved in such well-known geographical names as Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Gaṅgā.⁶²

Kālidāsa described all the countries of Bengal except Puṇḍra, which probably corresponded to the modern Māldā district of North-Bengal.⁶³ Shafer, incidentally, assumed their ethnical distinctness and guessed that they could have been Mundas in contrast to the Sino-Tibetan majority.⁶⁴

But the reason behind Kālidāsa's neglect of the Puṇḍras was a historical one rather than the supposed cultural difference, since that, if it had ever existed, had probably disappeared by this time. According to the first one of the Dāmodarpur Copperplates dated to the time of Kumāra Gupta I,⁶⁵ the Puṇḍra country formed a province (*bhukti*) of the Gupta Empire.⁶⁶ Because Puṇḍra, unlike the other East Indian territories, was not listed among the conquered countries either by Samudra Gupta's or by Candra

⁵⁷ *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* 2.2.3.18.

⁵⁸ *Harivaṃśa* 23.29; *Brahma-p.* 13.31; *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* 2.74.28; *Matsya-p.* 48.25.

⁵⁹ *Harivaṃśa* 2.30.●; *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 2.74.29–31●; *Matsya-purāṇa* 48.26–29.c●.

⁶⁰ THAPAR 1971: 416.

⁶¹ MUKHERJEE – MAITY 1967: 2.

⁶² SHAFER 1954: 14.

⁶³ DEY 1979: 161.

⁶⁴ SHAFER 1954: 21.

⁶⁵ BASAK 1919–1920: 114.

⁶⁶ *EI Vol. 15*. No. 7. p. 130. l. 2–3.

Gupta II's inscriptions, Basak may have rightly concluded that the region had already been ruled by the Guptas before Samudra Gupta's invasions.⁶⁷

Apart from this exception, Kālidāsa wrote about the peoples of the Ganges Delta, namely the Suhmas and the Vaṅgas, in the context of Raghu's *digvijaya*. The Suhmas were only forced to submit to Raghu and were not completely annihilated. Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* provides some further information about them. It describes Dāmralipta (Tāmralipti, modern Tamluk)⁶⁸ as a major city of the Suhma country,⁶⁹ which may have been one of the most important ports in ancient India.⁷⁰ Among others, the well-known Chinese monk, Faxian spent two years here before his journey to Ceylon.⁷¹

The presence of the Guptas at the mouth of the Ganges is attested by Samudra Gupta's pillar. Although it gives an extended panorama about the formation of the empire, it touches upon only one territory in Bengal, namely Samataṭa, among the taxpaying countries.⁷² This reference is, incidentally, its earliest epigraphic occurrence.⁷³ The name Samataṭa apparently alludes to the character of the Bengal plain since it means shore country⁷⁴ and besides, as an Indo-Āryan term, it differs etymologically from that of the others. On the basis of the *Raghuvamśa*, we could easily infer that this country subjugated by the Guptas was identical with that of Kālidāsa's collaborating Suhmas. Furui's recent researches on the inscriptions of this region seem to be compatible with this supposition, as they call attention to the fact that agrarian society was almost absent in Samataṭa under the Guptas.⁷⁵ In this way, the facts that, on the one hand, the development of sedentary agriculture may have been in its early phase, and on the other hand distant travellers such as Faxian visited its ports, suggest that Suhma as a seafaring, mercantile country consisted of more or less autonomous towns which could be so multicultural that they accepted a foreign protectorate instead of hostile relations.

However, if we take into consideration the travelogue of the later Chinese traveller, Xuanzang, we will see that Tāmralipti (Danmolidi) – the heart of the Suhma state – and Samataṭa (Sanmodazha) were clearly separate.⁷⁶

Thus, it only seems certain that the Guptas gained control over a part of the Ganges Delta, the strategic importance of which was obvious, and it was incorporated in the empire as a vassal state by the name of Samataṭa. The territory, in this way, may have

⁶⁷ BASAK 1919–1920: 116.

⁶⁸ DEY 1979: 203.

⁶⁹ *Daśakumāracarita* 6. p. 207. l. 3–5•.

⁷⁰ DEY 1979: 203.

⁷¹ LEGGE 1886: 100.

⁷² *CII Vol. 3*. No. 1. p. 8. l. 22.

⁷³ SHARMA 1978: 261.

⁷⁴ SHARMA 1978: 261.

⁷⁵ FURUI 2017: 80.

⁷⁶ BEAL 2001b: 199–201.

been under the influence of the Guptas, which could chiefly contribute to its sovereignty in the years following the fall of the empire. Nevertheless, we cannot entirely exclude that Kālidāsa's Suhma was identical with it since Xuanzang visited India at least two hundred years after Samudra Gupta, by which time the former state centred on Tāmralipti could have easily broken up.

In contrast to the cosmopolitanism of Tāmralipti, the other group of the Gangetic people, the Vaṅgas appear as the last real bastion of the Eastern resistance. Their omission in the Ilāhābād Inscription suggests that the country was not included in Samudra Gupta's "conquest of the world." However, it was not able to resist his successor, Candragupta II, who completed the paternal enterprise with further invasions against the remaining Eastern as well as Western territories.⁷⁷

My attempt to establish the location of the country is mainly grounded on Xuanzang's report. The Chinese monk differentiated six states on the Bengal plain,⁷⁸ which can easily be associated with the traditional Eastern countries.

Among them the case of Puṇḍra seems to be the most obvious, because it was also referred to as Puṇḍravardhana (Bennafatanna, modern Pāṇḍua, Māldā),⁷⁹ which was its capital. As we have seen above, Xuanzang distinguished Tāmralipti (Danmolidi) and Samatāṭa (Sammodazha), both of which might belong to the Suhmas, while Campā (Zhanbo, modern Campānagar, Bhagalpur)⁸⁰ and Kajūghira (Jiezhuaqiluo) seem to correspond to Aṅga.⁸¹ Out of the six countries, Karṇasuvarṇa (Jieluonasufalana) remains to be the only possible counterpart of ancient Vaṅga. The town visited by the monk is commonly identified with Kānsonā in the modern Murśidābād District,⁸² an area which was traditionally included in the Vaṅga country.⁸³ If this tradition is reliable, we can state that Vaṅga, though probably defeated by the Guptas, continued to be the main eastern obstacle for the central, imperial ambitions even in the following centuries since no one else but Harṣa's notorious enemy, Śaśāṅka chose it for his capital.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ Although there are some opposing interpretations (BASAK 1919: 101; FLEET 1888: 140.n; SHASTRI 1913–1914: 318.), I agree with those scholars, according to whom the Mehrauli Pillar describes the deeds of Candragupta II. (DANDERKAR 1941: 28; MOOKERJI 1947: 70–71; SIRCAR 1971a: 236.).

⁷⁸ BEAL 2001b: 191–204 – In this section Kāmarūpa (Jiamolübo) is also described (BEAL 2001b: 195–199), which obviously did not belong to the traditional Bengal.

⁷⁹ DEY 1979: 161.

⁸⁰ DEY 1979: 44.

⁸¹ Campā was widely known as the capital of Aṅga, while the determination of the latter, Kajūghira seems less certain. In any case, if we accept its probable identification with the modern Kajrā of the Muṅger District (DEY 1979: 83.), we can at once have faith in its belonging to Aṅga since this area likely was included in it. (DEY 1914: 337.).

⁸² DEY 1979: 94.

⁸³ LÉVI 1929: 74.

⁸⁴ BEAL 2001a: 210.

Finally, Aṅga, the remaining one of the four countries of Bengal deviated characteristically from the states of the Ganges Delta. Although it does not appear in the context of the *digvijaya*, Kālidāsa did not fail to think of it and introduced its ruler as a participant at Indumatī's *svayaṃvara*, which is the other extensive list of peoples and their princes in the *Raghuvamśa*. However, there is a remarkable difference between the two catalogues, namely that the *digvijaya* mainly concentrates on the barbarian peoples, while the *svayaṃvara* on the civilised ones. In this manner, Aṅga may have belonged to the greater community of the *śiṣṭas* in Kālidāsa's years.

As a matter of fact, this position of Aṅga is not unexpected since the first wave of its *Āryanization* is already observable in the epics. According to the *Mahābhārata*, Kuntī's oldest son, Karṇa was appointed to be the king of this country on the periphery.⁸⁵ This appointment not only resulted in a royal rank for the despised son of the charioteer, but it also acknowledged that Aṅga belonged to the community of the *śiṣṭas*. This opinion was probably also shared by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, according to which Aṅga was named after the love-god, Kāma, the ashes of whose body (*aṅga*) dropped here.⁸⁶ Apart from the epics, early Buddhist works such as the stories of Uruvela Kassapa⁸⁷ and Soṇadaṇḍa⁸⁸ enumerate quite a few Vedic customs followed by the Aṅga people, thus showing clearly the *brāhmaṇical* influences in the region.⁸⁹

If we accept Vallabhadeva's reading and interpretation, a similar picture emerges from Kālidāsa's report on the Aṅga kingdom:

<Sunandā> jagāda c'ainām <Indumatīm> ayam Aṅga-nāthah
 sur^âṅganā-prārthita-yauvana-śrīh|
 vinīta-bhāgaḥ kila sūtra-kārair
 aindraṃ padaṃ bhūmi-gato 'pi bhuṅkte||⁹⁰

And spoke the following words to her: "This is the king of the Aṅgas whose loveliness of full youth had been sought by celestial damsels, whose share in sacrifices is managed by the

⁸⁵ *Mahābhārata* 1.26.35–39.

⁸⁶ *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.22.13–14•.

⁸⁷ According to the *Mahāvagga* (1.19.1. p. 27.), all the people of Aṅga and Magadha wished to take part in Uruvela Kassapa's sacrifice (*mahā-yañño*).

⁸⁸ Soṇadaṇḍa appears as a reverend *brāhmaṇa* of Campā in the *Dīghanikāya* (1.4.1. p. 111.).

⁸⁹ DEY 1914: 345.

⁹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 6.27.

authors of the *sūtras* and who enjoys the position of Indra even though living on the earth.”
(transl. with modifications)⁹¹

The poet praises its ruler as a pious king whose share in the sacrifice was performed by the so-called *sūtrakāras*. This expression was glossed as *yajna-sūtrakāra* by Vallabhadeva. The presence of such an office in the context of the sacrifices suggested the continuous performance of the typically Vedic oblations.

However, among the remaining commentators only Hemādri and Jinasamudra followed this way of interpretation,⁹² while the others read *vinīta-nāgaḥ* instead of *vinīta-bhāgaḥ*. This variant alters the meaning of the verse. It describes the lord of Aṅga as one whose elephants are tamed by the *sūtra*-writers. The verse would thus refer to the tradition of the *Gajāśāstra*,⁹³ according to which the scientific treatise about the elephants was compiled here.⁹⁴ Although this reading was only conserved in the later commentaries, it is more characteristic for Kālidāsa’s style since he habitually aimed to represent the territorial traits. Kālidāsa may have been familiar with the lore of keeping elephants (*gajāśāstra*),⁹⁵ nevertheless, it might not have been popular in Kashmir because of the lack of wild elephants. Thus, it is not unimaginable that it was, in this case, Vallabhadeva (or the Kashmirian transmitters before him), who modified the verse because it was unclear for him.

In connection with the history of Aṅga under the Guptas, there is a scarcity of inscriptional references, which might have made Chakladar disbelieve the existence of the kingdom. According to him, the portrayal of the Aṅga king was utterly anachronistic.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, his standpoint is difficult to uphold in the light of Faxian’s

⁹¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 165. – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads °*nāgaḥ* instead of °*bhāgaḥ* in the third *pāda*, and translates it as follows: “whose elephants were trained by the professors of elephantine science”.

⁹² HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 6.27.°; JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.28.°.

⁹³ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.27.°; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.27.°; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.27.°; ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 111.°; VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 84.°.

⁹⁴ The origin of the elephant-science is related in detail in the first chapter (*prakaraṇa*) of the *Gajāśāstra* (1.1–103). In this animated story, the emblematic sage of the East, Dīrghatamas cursed the elephants to serve human beings, because they destroyed his abode. Since then, most of the elephants, except for those who killed *daityas* and *dānavas*, have lived on the Earth, where they have fallen victim to various illnesses. Therefore, to help them, Brahmā promised a future sage to establish the veterinary science of the elephants. Due to his vow, Pālakāpya was born as the son of a human sage and a female elephant. This Pālakāpya transmitted the work treating with elephants to Romapāda, the mythological king of Aṅga.

⁹⁵ Obviously, it is quite difficult to assign a date to the extant *Gajāśāstra*, however, on the basis of the *Arthaśāstra*, it seems credible that such works on the elephant keeping could exist before the rise of the Gupta Empire. (SADHALE – NENE 2004.).

⁹⁶ CHAKLADAR 1963: 42.

account, which obviously outlined Aṅga by the name of Campā as an independent territory.⁹⁷ To say anything certain about its history is of course very difficult, and there is only room for conjectures.

Among others Nando Lal Dey supposed that Aṅga was under the sway of the Indo-Scythians until Candragupta II, who, having demolished the Śaka power, annexed it to his empire.⁹⁸ To support his view, Dey referred to a Śaka coin found in Sultāngaṅj together with a coin of Candragupta. However, this argument in itself seems too weak to be the basis of such a comprehensive theory. Dey's further assumption, according to which Aṅga was as strong as to be avoided by Samudra Gupta's campaign and it collapsed under his successor, was established on the omission of Aṅga in the Ilāhābād Inscription. But his conclusion is doubtful since Samudra Gupta reached places as far east as Samatāṭa and the Kāliṅga kingdoms, which could not have been accomplished if a hostile rule had flourished in Aṅga. Therefore, I think it is possible that Aṅga as the closest neighbour of Magadha was under Gupta sway even before Samudra Gupta.

Another attempt to identify the lords of Aṅga was made by Mark Collins. His hypothesis, though ingenious, had as weak a basis as the previous one. In his opinion, a branch of the Mauryas survived in Campā after the fall of the great empire.⁹⁹ However, his only argument for this is a single passage from the *Daśakumāracarita*, according to which a merchant called Dhanamitra reminded the Aṅga king of a privilege given to the traders by the Mauryas to exempt them from capital punishment.¹⁰⁰ Although he was not as bold as to presume that Aśoka's descendants still existed in Daṇḍin's years, he actually claimed that they were somehow related to the Maukharis of Gayā, which would agree well with Xuanzang's statement, according to which the last member of Aśoka's lineage ruled over Magadha.¹⁰¹ To summarise, if we accept Collins's view, we should presume that Aṅga was ruled by a Maurya-Maukhari alliance for centuries. This hypothesis, however, is not completely plausible.

First of all, just the mention of the Mauryas in connection with Campā in Daṇḍin's poem is not sufficient to presume a separate lineage in Aṅga since the country belonged to the great Maurya Empire as well. The Maukharis of Gayā, on the other hand, were probably the rulers of the country but their inscriptions from the sixth century¹⁰² are too late to establish their presence there in Kālidāsa's time.

⁹⁷ LEGGE 1886: 100.

⁹⁸ DEY 1914: 324–325.

⁹⁹ COLLINS 1907: 24–27.

¹⁰⁰ *Daśakumāracarita* 2. p. 116. l. 8–9•.

¹⁰¹ BEAL 2001b: 118.

¹⁰² BAKKER 2014: 47.

Raghu's flood

Kālidāsa evidently associated the Bengali landscape with permanent floods, which served well to be compared to Raghu's force. The conqueror is identified here with an uncontrollable deluge which submerged the eastern plains covered by many streams:

*sa <Raghu> senām mahatīm karṣan pūrva-sāgara-gāminīm|
babhau Hara-jaṭā-bhraṣṭām Gaṅgām iva Bhagīrathā||*¹⁰³

He leading with him his great army going toward the eastern sea, looked like Bhagīratha who led the Gaṅgā fallen from the matted hair of Hara.¹⁰⁴

Raghu's transformation into a flood is introduced gradually. At the beginning of the conquest, as the king is passing along the Ganges Valley, he is only associated with his celebrated ancestor, Bhagīratha, who formerly led the Hindus' holiest river to the eastern sea.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, after his campaign reaches the realms of the eastern *mlecchas*, the king himself becomes equal to the flood of the Ganges and its tributaries. The association of the aggressor with a natural disaster is very pertinent here, because the struggle against regular deluges has shaped the life of the locals up to the present time. On the other hand, Kālidāsa may also allude to the twofold nature of the sacred river, which corresponds exactly to that of the conquering monarch, since both of them enrich the cultured peoples but ruin the uncultivated areas:

*paurastyān evam ākrāmāṃs tāṃs tāñ janapadāñ jiti|
<Raghu> prāpa tālī-vana-śyāmam upakaṇṭham mah^ôdadhe||*¹⁰⁶

Traversing all the eastern countries in this manner, the conqueror at last reached the shores of the great ocean verdant with the forest of Tālī-trees (palm-trees).¹⁰⁷

The poet, perhaps, makes an additional allusion to the barbarian status of the people when he mentions the shore of the ocean as their home because it was regarded as a typical barbarian place of habitation.¹⁰⁸ The *Mahābhārata* speaks about the *mlecchas* of the seaside,¹⁰⁹ while the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Brahma-purāṇa* predict that in the final age of humanity, the Āryan people will also move to the Himālaya and to the eastern seashore

¹⁰³ *Raghuvamśa* 4.33.

¹⁰⁴ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 103.

¹⁰⁵ *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.42.21.●.

¹⁰⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.35.

¹⁰⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 104.

¹⁰⁸ *Manusmṛti* 2.22–23 (See p. 261. App. n. 31.).

¹⁰⁹ *Mahābhārata* 2.31.10.ab●.

to live there together with several *mleccha* tribes.¹¹⁰ With the darkness of the *tālī*-trees (*tālī-vana-śyāmam*), perhaps, Kālidāsa emphasises further its impurity.¹¹¹

However, not only mythology but historical documentation also supports this idea. The Maukhari inscription of Harahā from the sixth century¹¹² tells us that its installer, Īśānavarman ordered the Bengalis (Gauḍa) to live close to the sea to be well-separated from the civilised world.¹¹³ In this manner, the deed of the Maukhari king brought to Sircar's mind the story about Sagara's *dharmavijaya*¹¹⁴ according to which, the legendary king, after he had overcome the western barbarians in the same way, commanded them to wear special marks as signs of their impurity.¹¹⁵

After the introductory description, Kālidāsa dedicates the following two verses to introducing the local peoples, who are expertly incorporated into the image of the great flood. Some of them, such as the Suhmas, submitted to Raghu similarly to reeds, which bend down when the water comes, while others, like the Vaṅgas were completely eliminated:

an-amrāṇām samuddhartus tasmāt <Raghoḥ> sindhu-rayād iva|
ātmā samrakṣitaḥ Suhmair vṛttim āśṛitya vaitasīm||
Vaṅgān utkhāya tarasā netā nau-sādhana^ōddhatān|
*nicakhāna jaya-stambhān Gaṅgā-stroto^ntareṣu saḥ||*¹¹⁶

From him, extirpator of the unyielding, the Suhmas saved their lives by adopting the course of the cane plant, as if from the torrent of a river.

Having ousted by his prowess the Vaṅga princes, who were proud of their naval force, that leader erected the triumphal columns in the intervening space within the streams of Gaṅgā. (transl. with modifications)¹¹⁷

About the Vaṅgas, Kālidāsa also remarks that they are proud of their naval force (*nau-sādhana^ōddhatān*). This epithet not only fits well the flood-portrait but also attests to

¹¹⁰ *Harivaṃśa* 117.28.c–30•; *Brahma-purāṇa* 231.69.c–72•.

¹¹¹ This plant is commonly identified with the palmyra tree (*Borassus flabellifer*). This view is supported by the *Amarakośa* (2.4.436.●), in which *tālī* is also listed among the palm trees.

¹¹² ŚĀSTRĪ 1917–1918: 113.

¹¹³ *EI Vol. 14*. No. 5. p.117. l. 13.●.

¹¹⁴ SIRCAR 1961–1962: 282.

¹¹⁵ *Bhāgavata*–p. 9.8.1–7; *Brahmāṇḍa*–p. 2.48.1–49.65, 2.63.121–142; *Brahma*–p. 8.33–52; *Harivaṃśa* 10.30–46; *Nārada*–p. 1.8.1–65; *Viṣṇu*–p. 4.3.17–33.

¹¹⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.36–37.

¹¹⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 104. – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads °*odiyatān* in the second *pāda* of the second verse, and translates it as follows: “ready for encounter on account of their fleet (lit. means) of ships”.

his knowledge about this country. Although the ancient Indians are usually not regarded as seafaring people, they were not completely unfamiliar with shipping since the Ganges Delta with its countless tributaries has always been an excellent place for it.¹¹⁸ On the basis of the *Arthaśāstra*,¹¹⁹ which contains a detailed description about the duties of the superintendent of ships (*nāv-adhyakṣa*), Prithwis Chandra Chakravarti hypothesised that the military employment of ships started to spread in the pre-Gupta period.¹²⁰ Kālidāsa mentions the Vaṅga fleet as an independent military corps, which, perhaps, can be regarded as a further level of the expansion of naval warfare. This view can be supported by the Deo-Baraṇār inscription of Jīvita Gupta from the later Ma-gadhan Gupta period, which lists the ships instead of the outmoded chariots among the four divisions of the royal army.¹²¹

At the end of the description of the Bengali landscape, Kālidāsa tells us what happened to the subjugated kings, who are pictured here as rice plants, which are first pulled out and then replanted:

*ā-pāda-padma-praṇatāḥ kalamā iva te Raghum|
phalaiḥ saṃvardhayām āsur utkhāta-pratiropitāḥ||*¹²²

They, who lowly bowed down to his lotus-like feet and who (therefore) were reinstated after having been ousted, honoured Raghu by presenting him with their wealth like *kalamā* plants which are bent down to their roots and which present fruit (corn) when they are transplanted after having been first uprooted.¹²³

In this way, the positive effect of the flood as well as the conquest becomes visible, since the cultivated rice, just as the submitted people, needs to be regularly flooded to bear fruit.

In fact, this concluding allusion to the cultivation encapsulates the happenings of the Bengal scene. The flood, which is put to use on the paddy fields, generally determines these verses. Beyond it, we should not fail to notice that agricultural sense which is naturally associated with the verbal root *√khan* (to dig), derivatives of which such as *utkhāya* (having destroyed, more literally uprooted)¹²⁴ and *nicakhāna* (fixed, erected)¹²⁵ depict the war against the Vaṅgas. Furthermore, Kālidāsa, though the commentators

¹¹⁸ CHAKRAVARTI 1930: 651–652.

¹¹⁹ *Arthaśāstra* 2.28.1–27.

¹²⁰ CHAKRAVARTI 1930: 648–649.

¹²¹ *CII Vol. 3*. No. 46, p. 215. l. 1. •.

¹²² *Raghuvamśa* 4.38.

¹²³ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 105.

¹²⁴ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 177.

¹²⁵ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 545.

did not recognise it, might have alluded to another meaning of the word *vaṅga*, namely “tree” here.¹²⁶ Thus, the opposition between the vanquished communities calls to mind the worldwide topos of the tree and the reed. Lastly, according to Devadevan’s recent study, the spread of the wet-rice (*śālī*) instead of the *vrihi* may have been an important catalyst of the early urbanisation.¹²⁷ In this way, the fact, that Raghu metaphorically cultivates the subjugated country, implies a kind of cultural expansion also.

UTKALA AND KALIṄGA

By the name of Kaliṅga, people normally mean an extended area including the large part of the modern Odisha (Orissa) along with the Northern Circars.¹²⁸ Despite that, Kālidāsa clearly distinguishes two independent kingdoms inside it. In his portrayal Utkala, the name of which is derived from Ut-Kaliṅga (North-Kaliṅga),¹²⁹ probably indicates Odisha, while Kaliṅga might be confined exclusively to the southern mountainous area called Mahendra.¹³⁰

Concerning their geographical determinations, both the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Mahābhārata* provide remarkable information. Kālidāsa introduces the new scene with the mention of the river Kapiśā,¹³¹ the border function of which, in this context, seems probable. In connection with its localisation, Sircar shared a plausible theory, according to which the river corresponded to the modern Kaśāi and set apart Bengal from the greater Kaliṅga.¹³² The *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, hints at another river, the Vaitaraṇī (Baitaraṇī),¹³³ which appears in just the same role between Utkala and Kaliṅga.

This kind of detachment, otherwise, seems to be traceable to historical reasons as well, since the imperial Mauryas separated this region into these districts after Aśoka’s famous conquest.¹³⁴

Beyond the geographical and administrative distinction, the great epic alludes to their cultural dissimilarity too. As maintained by it, only the northern part of Kaliṅga,

¹²⁶ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 912.

¹²⁷ DEVADEVAN 2017: 180–181.

¹²⁸ DEY 1979: 85.

¹²⁹ DEY 1979: 213.

¹³⁰ The accurate identification of the Mahendra is not obvious, since this appellation was equally used for all the ranges of the hills from Odisha to the district of Maturai. However, Kālidāsa probably called Mahendra the mountain separating Gañjām from the valley of the Mahānadī. (DEY 1979: 119.).

¹³¹ The reading Kayimā preferred by Vallabhadeva seems an early scribal error from the original Kapiśā. (GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: 347.).

¹³² SIRCAR 1971a: 173.

¹³³ DEY 1979: 18.

¹³⁴ SIRCAR 1971a: 167.

probably corresponding to Kālidāsa's Utkala, was inhabited by *brāhmaṇas* and *ṛṣis* and was fit for the sacrifices.¹³⁵ This statement suggests that the community of the *śiṣṭas* initially exerted more influence on it than on the further Kalingan territories. Their separation is even more manifest in the *purāṇas*, which derive the Utkala people from Sudyumna instead of the Bāleya genealogy.¹³⁶

In the light of the historical data, this division of the area was already disappearing under the Guptas. The epigraphic records from the northern regions indicate strong Gupta influence, which suggests their incorporation into the empire,¹³⁷ while the southern, Kalingan kingdoms more or less retained their independence. As claimed by the Ilāhābād pillar inscription, there were at least three sovereign states (Piṣṭapura, Girikottūra, Eraṇḍapalla)¹³⁸ here which, though were defeated, became restored.¹³⁹

After Samudra Gupta's invasion several royal families appeared around these centres and asserted themselves as the chiefs of Kalinga. Among them the Māṭharas, the Piṭṛbhaktas, and the Vāsiṣṭhakulas were the most prominent ones,¹⁴⁰ who already showed affinity with Hindu movements. The Māṭharas as well as the Piṭṛbhaktas usually introduced themselves as the followers of the *Vaiṣṇavism*, whereas the Vāsiṣṭhas were *Śaivas*.¹⁴¹ Besides, their inscriptions also exhibited the *varṇa* system.¹⁴²

Considering this, it seems strange that these people were grouped together with the barbarians. Furthermore, the Kalingan king was among the participants at Indumatī's *svayamvara*.¹⁴³ This reference even more emphasises the civilised rank of the country.

¹³⁵ *Mahābhārata* 3.114.5.♦.

¹³⁶ Most of the *purāṇic* references claim that Utkala and his brothers Gaya and Vinata are the sons of Sudyumna (identical with Ilā). (*Agni-p.* 272.8ab; *Brahma-p.* 7.17.c–18.b; *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* 2.60.17.c–18.b; *Garuḍa-p.* 1.138.4; *Kūrma-p.* 1.19.8–9; *Liṅga-p.* 1.65.26; *Viṣṇu-p.* 4.1.14–15) It is usually also accepted that, among them, Utkala ruled over Utkala, Gaya possessed Gayā, while the Western countries belonged to Vinata. (*Agni-p.* 272.8c–9.b; *Brahma-p.* 7.18.c–19.b; *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* 2.60.18.c–19.b; *Liṅga-p.* 1.65.27.) On the contrary to this, the *Matsya-purāṇa* reads Haritāśva in the place of Vinata, and designates him as the lord of the Eastern region. (*Matsya-p.* 12.16–18.b).

¹³⁷ TRIPATHY 1997: 43.

¹³⁸ -Piṣṭapuraka-Mahendra-Giri-Kauṭṭūra-Svāmidatt[^]Airaṇḍapallaka-Damana- (CII Vol. 3. No. 1. p. 7. l. 19.) – Although Mahendra-giri, the emblematic mountain of Kalinga appears in the quotation, I agree with Fleet, who took Mahendra as the proper name of the ruler of Piṣṭapura and *giri* as an epithet of Kottūra. (FLEET 1888: 7.) Piṣṭapura seems to be identical with the modern Piṭhāpuram (Āndhra Pradesh), and the association of Koṭṭūra with Koṭhur (Gaṇjām district) can be also acceptable. (DANDEKAR 1941: 51–52) However, the localisation of Eraṇḍapalla is uncertain. It corresponds, perhaps, to the modern Śrikākulam. (SHARMA 1978: 246.).

¹³⁹ CII Vol. 3. No. 1. p. 7. l. 19–20.

¹⁴⁰ TRIPATHY 1997: 4.

¹⁴¹ TRIPATHY 1997: 24.

¹⁴² TRIPATHY 1997: 25.

¹⁴³ *Raghuvamśa* 6.53–58.

In my opinion a simple answer cannot be given to this question, though some conjectures can be put forward. First, although *brāhmaṇical* culture was dominant in greater Kalinga, the southern hills were still inhabited by tribal communities, who are sometimes identified with the ancient *pulindas* known from the Maurya edicts.¹⁴⁴ The presence of these people, perhaps, contributes to the ambivalent thinking about the country. Incidentally, nothing demonstrates the intensity of the expansion of the *brāhmaṇical* culture better than the fact that later on these tribes founded the Śailodbhava dynasty which became the main regional Hindu power in the post-Gupta period. However, in spite of their complete assimilation, they remained proud of their foreign ancestry.¹⁴⁵

The occurrence of Kalinga, on the other hand, might be explained by simple, geographical reasons. Because Raghu moves from Bengal to the South, he needs to cross Kalinga, whose chief, nevertheless, resists his effort.

By all means, Kālidāsa's description of Kalinga appears to be rather anachronistic than being established on historical facts. The country, from all accounts, was politically divided and consequently the title of the lord of Kalinga was an uncertain one. In contrast to this, the unified Kalinga of the *Raghuvamśa* restates what we see in the *Mahābhārata*, where the sole king of Kalinga repeatedly occurs.

However, it would be an exaggeration to say that the great poet completely lost his historical sense here. He adds that Raghu as a pious vanquisher sets free the defeated ruler of Kalinga, which is often understood as an allusion to Samudra Gupta's similar deed.¹⁴⁶

Raghu tames the Kalingan elephant

Kālidāsa introduces the new scene with a reference to the Utkalas:

<Raghuḥ> sa tīrtvā Kayimāṃ sainyair baddha-dvirada-setubhiḥ|
Utkal^ādeśita-pathaḥ Kaliṅg^ābbhimukho yayau||¹⁴⁷

He crossed the river Kapiśā [Kayimā] with his army on a bridge made of his elephants, and being shown the way by the princes of Utkala (Orissa), bent his course towards Kalinga.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ KULKE – ROTHERMUND 2002: 125.

¹⁴⁵ KULKE – ROTHERMUND 2002: 125.

¹⁴⁶ GAWROŃSKI 1914–1918: 47.

¹⁴⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 4.39.

¹⁴⁸ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 105.

This verse actually seems to be independent from the following ones and rather serves as a link between the previous and the current scenes. As a matter of fact, Kālidāsa does not pay much attention to the Utkalas and succinctly describes them as showing the way to Raghu (*Utkal^ādesita-pathah*).

Among the commentators, Vallabhadeva interpreted their conduct as an allusion to their defeated state.¹⁴⁹ A similar way of explanation was shared by Nārāyaṇa as well, who regarded the obedience of the locals as a weakness, but he added that the expression could refer to the fact that the road followed by Raghu was difficult to travel.¹⁵⁰ In contrast to them Hemādri and Śrīnātha claimed that the Utkalas were forced into submission without effort.¹⁵¹ This manner of interpretation mostly corresponds to the above exhibited stereotype that only the northern part of the country was civilised.

Apart from the introductory verse, all the remaining ones concentrate on Kalinga. The elephant appears here as a leitmotif. This choice of Kālidāsa corresponds to the old received idea according to which the best elephants are found in Kalinga.¹⁵² In this way, Raghu first enters the scene as an elephant-driver, whose glory (*pratāpa*), just like an ankus, is put on the head of the Mahendra imagined as a restive elephant:

*sa <Raghu> pratāpaṃ Mahendrasya mūrdhni tīkṣṇaṃ nyaveśayat|
aṅkuśaṃ dviradasy'ēva yantā gambhīra-vedinaḥ||*¹⁵³

He planted his unbearable prowess in the head (crown, summit) of the Mahendra, just as the elephant driver does his sharp goad in that of an unwieldy elephant (that does not mind the pricking of the goad).¹⁵⁴

The initial picture is incidentally quite appropriate to make us familiar with a remarkable feature of Kālidāsa's poetry. A great number of his similes and metaphors had already been used by the epic bards, and later became themes at hand for the classical poets. Among them, Kālidāsa does not simply adopt the well-known tropes, but he rearranges them structurally. By way of illustration, elephants have generally been compared to the mountains since the *Mahābhārata*,¹⁵⁵ but here Kālidāsa inverts the conventional image and personifies the mountain as a giant elephant.

¹⁴⁹ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.39.●.

¹⁵⁰ NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.38.●.

¹⁵¹ HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.40.●; ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 77.▼.

¹⁵² *Arthaśāstra* 2.2.14–15.ab●; *Gajāśāstra* 4.15.●.

¹⁵³ *Raghuvaṃśa* 4.40.

¹⁵⁴ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 105–106.

¹⁵⁵ *Mahābhārata* 6.17.33, 6.50.37, 6.89.10, 7.25.33, 7.26.22, 7.28.43, 8.15.35, 14.74.9.

He, moreover, continues this poetic game in the following verse and illustrates the hostile territorial chief as a mountain, too, which attempts to overcome the Indra-like conqueror:

*pratijagrāha Kāliṅgas tam <Raghum> astrair gaja-sādhanaḥ|
pakṣa-cchedhodyatam Śakraṃ śilā-varṣiva parvataḥ||*¹⁵⁶

The king of the Kāliṅgas, who had a large number of elephants (forming a part of his army), received (opposed) him with missiles, just as a mountain would Indra, prepared to cut off its wings, with showers of stones.¹⁵⁷

Here, the topic is borrowed again from the epic heritage, in which Indra's heroic combat against the winged mountains was described.¹⁵⁸ The appearance of the divine emperor, on the other hand, joins the verse to the previous one, because the fact that Raghu first tames the Mahendra, just as one tames an elephant, makes him similar to Indra, since both of them ride fabulous elephants and fight against hill-like enemies.

After the depiction of the opposing kings, Kālidāsa describes their combat, in which Raghu endures the shower of *nārācas* (a kind of arrow) launched by the Kāliṅgan people as if it were a *sanmaṅgala* ceremony:

*dviṣāṃ viśahya Kākutsthas tatra nārāca-dur-dinam|
san-maṅgala-snāta iva pratipede jaya-śriyam||*¹⁵⁹

After having endured the enemies' shower of iron-darts, the descendant of Kakutsha, duly washed in (by way of) an auspicious ablution, gained (appropriated) the goddess of victory.¹⁶⁰

The accurate interpretation of this rite divided the commentators to a certain extent. The Keralan scholars took *sanmaṅgala* as a *tatpuruṣa*-compound (*satām maṅgalam*), meaning "a *maṅgala* service performed by venerable persons". They, moreover, quoted the *Yādavakośa* which interpreted *maṅgala* as a kind of "herbal bath", to which Nārāyaṇa added that it was conducted before the fight to achieve victory.¹⁶¹ Almost the same view was shared by Mallinātha, who, however, attributed an adverbial sense to

¹⁵⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.41.

¹⁵⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 106.

¹⁵⁸ According to the popular view, in the *Kṛta yuga*, mountains had wings and flew at their leisure. However, all divine beings were very afraid of the fall of the flying mountains, because of which Indra cut off their wings. (*Rāmāyaṇa* 5.1.108–110) Allusions to this legend have already been used as a basis of similes even in epic poetry (*Mahābhārata* 6.46.53, 7.25.16, 7.25.56, 7.28.38, 14.75.18–19).

¹⁵⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.42.

¹⁶⁰ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 106.

¹⁶¹ ARUNAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.41.♦; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.41.♦.

sat, which, in this way, indicated that the liturgy was properly accomplished.¹⁶² In contrast to them, Vallabhadeva and Śrīnātha were of the opinion that the initial *sat* alluded to the calendric date of the rite, since it was auspicious on the first day of the Puṣya month.¹⁶³ Śrīnātha seems to be familiar with a particular ceremony by the name of *maṅgala*, since he, apart from the date, also added the manner (with *jaṭāmamsī*, etc.) as well as the purpose (wedding, welfare) of the ritual.¹⁶⁴ Although I do not prefer any of these ideas, it seems, by all means, unquestionable that the attack of the locals becomes as pleasant as an auspicious bath.

The other remarkable element of the simile is the *nārācas* with which Kālidāsa furnishes the inhabitants. These weapons occur in Sanskrit sources many times but have remained fairly unknown. The *Śivadhanurveda*, though defines them as iron arrows,¹⁶⁵ does not convey any additional information about their employment. In connection with them, at any rate, a notable theory is attributed to Jogesh Chandra Ray, who proposed that these missiles could be some kind of dangerous fiery weapons, which were suitable to be lit because of their steel shaft.¹⁶⁶

Besides, it is also a widespread opinion that these missiles were used against elephants.¹⁶⁷ This interpretation would fit well the description of the elephant combat of Raghu and the local king.

After the iron arrows, Kālidāsa shows Raghu's weapon, too, which is the *vāyavyāstra*:

vāyavyāstra-vinirdhūtāt pakṣa-viddhād iv'ōdadheḥ|
*gajānīkāt sa <Raghuḥ> Kāliṅgaṃ Tārksyaḥ sarpam iv'ādade||*¹⁶⁸

He fetched the king of Kāliṅga from his army of elephants, when it was scattered by the *vāyavya* weapon. [In this way] he resembled Garuḍa, who seizes snakes from the ocean struck by his wings.

There are references to *vāyavyāstra* in the *Mahābhārata* too,¹⁶⁹ according to which it was regularly used to disperse the hostile showers of arrows¹⁷⁰ just like in the case of Raghu.

¹⁶² MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.42.●.

¹⁶³ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.42.●.

¹⁶⁴ ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 77.*●.

¹⁶⁵ *Śivadhanurveda* 73.ab●.

¹⁶⁶ RAY 1932: 268.

¹⁶⁷ BROCKINGTON 1998: 180.

¹⁶⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 4.43.

¹⁶⁹ *Mahābhārata* 7.18.22, 7.132.37, 7.137.42, 8.15.31.

¹⁷⁰ *Mahābhārata* 7.18.22, 8.15.31.●.

The employment of the magical weapon, on the other hand, makes Raghu comparable to Garuḍa, whose appearance introduces a new mythological topos as well as a new site in the Kālīṅgan landscape, namely the seaside. Raghu seeks out his rival hiding among his army elephants just as Garuḍa picks a snake from the middle of the ocean.

In this way, the new image already alludes to the denouement of the fight. The local ruler, though he looked like a capable challenger earlier, is imaged here as a lurking snake.

Another function of this simile is to lead the readers to seaside, which is the other defining geographical characteristic of the country. At this moment, however, Kālidāsa refers to the ocean only briefly; he depicts it in greater detail in the introduction of the Kālīṅgan king at the *svayaṃvara*.¹⁷¹

This passage, contrary to the *digvijaya* description, puts as great stress on the ocean as on the Mahendra and explicitly designates the Kālīṅgan monarch as the lord of the Mahendra as well as the ocean (*patir Mahendrasya mahodadheś ca*).¹⁷²

The familiarity of the inhabitants with seafaring life seems probable, and some scholars even suppose that they were the first who exported Indian culture to the Archipelago of Southeast-Asia.¹⁷³ According to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, the barbarian inhabitants of the islands of the so-called Kālīṅga-sea (*Kālīṅga^ôdreṣu*) were already conversant with the Buddha's teaching,¹⁷⁴ which was considered by Jayaswal as the result of the Kālīṅgan influence.¹⁷⁵

Perhaps, the *Raghuvamśa* also contains allusions to this connection. In the following verse, Raghu's soldiers are illustrated as relaxing on the beach and drinking coconut juice after the war:

tāmbūlināṃ dalais tasya <Raghoḥ> racita-pāna-bhūmayah|
*nārikel^āsavaṃ yodhāḥ śātravaṃ ca yaśaḥ papuḥ||*¹⁷⁶

There his war like soldiers, having constructed their drinking grounds, drank up, in betel leaves, the ale produced from the coconut trees and also the glory of their enemies.¹⁷⁷

Kālidāsa adds that the drinking places occupied by the warriors are furnished with betel (*tāmbūli*) leaves. The consumption of betel, however, may have not been widespread

¹⁷¹ *Raghuvamśa* 6.53–57.

¹⁷² *Raghuvamśa* 6.54.b.

¹⁷³ JAYASWAL 1934: 32.

¹⁷⁴ *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 636.d–641.b.

¹⁷⁵ JAYASWAL 1934: 32.

¹⁷⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.44.

¹⁷⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 106.

in the Gupta age, in contrast to Southeast-Asia, where it was an old custom, and from where it probably spread to the Peninsula.¹⁷⁸

In the sixth canto Kālidāsa also refers to the maritime winds, which bring the fragrance of the *lavaṅga*-flowers (clove) from the islands to Kāliṅga:

<Sunandā Indumatīm uvāca>
anena <Kāliṅgena> sārḍhaṃ vihar'āmburāśes tīreṣu tālī-vana-marmareṣu|
*apākṛta-sveda-lavā marudbhīr dvīp^āntar^ānīta-lavaṅga-puṣpaiḥ||*¹⁷⁹

Sport, o princess, with this king on the seashore where the palm tree groves make a rustling noise, and where you will have your drops of perspiration removed by breezes that bring with them the sweet scent of the clove flowers from other islands.¹⁸⁰

This may attest to their interrelation since the Archipelago has always been famous about its clove plantations.¹⁸¹

The account of Kāliṅga concludes with the release of its defeated king:

grhīta-pratimuktasya sa dharma-vijayī nṛpaḥ|
*hriyaṃ Mahendra-nāthasya jahāra na tu medinīm||*¹⁸²

The righteous conqueror took away the shame but not the territory of the lord of Mahendra, captured but (subsequently) released. (transl. with modifications)¹⁸³

To sum up the verses about Kāliṅga seem to be fairly independent from each other contrary to those of the previous scene. The only coherence among them is created by the motif of the elephant, which continuously changes its position during the description. First, the land itself occurs as an elephant, then the territorial chief is imagined as a mountain because of his war elephants, which are finally compared to the ocean.

¹⁷⁸ ROONEY 1993: 19–21.

¹⁷⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 6.57.

¹⁸⁰ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 178.

¹⁸¹ CHANDRA 1977: 169.

¹⁸² *Raghuvamśa* 4.45.

¹⁸³ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 107. – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *śriyaṃ* in the first *pāda*, and translates it as follows: “...took away the wealth...”.

DAKṢIṆĀPATHA

Following East-India Raghu, in accordance with the rule of *pradakṣiṇa*, continues his world conquest in South-India. This country, called Dakṣiṇāpatha, is generally divided into two large regions, namely the Deccan Plateau and the area of the Tamil kingdoms.

According to the *purāṇic* definitions of Āryāvarta, barbarian populations such as the Kirātas and the Yavanas border the land of the Āryas from the East and the West, whereas two emblematic mountain ranges, the Himālaya and the Vindhya are its northern and southern frontiers.¹⁸⁴ Perhaps the presence of these natural boundaries is responsible for the somewhat extramundane atmosphere, which distinguishes these directions. There are numerous divine beings such as *gandharvas*, *vidyādhara*s, and the fabulous people of the Uttarakuru kingdom associated with the area to the north of the Himālaya, while the South is, in parallel, despised as the home of demonic beings, especially the *rākṣasas*.

Though initially it was the Vindhya which was the border of this hell-like place, the civilisation of the *śiṣṭas* did not stop at its foothills forever. Perhaps there is nothing to exemplify better its expansion than the famous legend about Agastya's journey to the South. When the celebrated sage moved to the South and caused the Vindhya, regarded as the highest mountain ever, to bow down,¹⁸⁵ he opened the door, symbolically, for the expansion of *brāhmaṇical* culture.

In Kālidāsa's time, it seems obvious that the expansion of the *śiṣṭas* had already traversed the Vindhya. The country situated immediately south of it is Vidarbha. Although it is not mentioned in the description about the *digvijaya*, this kingdom has an important role in the *Raghuvamśa*, since it serves as the scene of the fifth and sixth cantos, in which Raghu's son, Aja travels there to take part in Indumatī's *svayamvara*.

Kālidāsa, just like Daṇḍin, connects this country with Bhoja's lineage.¹⁸⁶ This idea may have its origin in the early period. According to the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, the

¹⁸⁴ *Agni-purāṇa* 118.6; *Brahma-purāṇa* 19.8; *Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa* 1.16.12; *Kūrma-purāṇa* 1.45.25; *Liṅga-purāṇa* 1.52.29; *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* 57.8; *Matsya-purāṇa* 114.11; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 2.3.8.

¹⁸⁵ According to the *Mahābhārata*, the Vindhya annoyed the Sun because it always circulated around the Meru. Thus, the jealous mountain grew high in order to obstruct even the passage of the Moon and the Sun. It was; however, a really serious problem and Agastya was considered to be the only person able to solve it. This sage asked the Vindhya to let him to go to the South and to stay bowed down until he returns. The mountain, of course, fulfilled his request, but Agastya has not come back since that. (*Mahābhārata* 3.102.1–14).

¹⁸⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 5.39.♦; *Daśakumāracarita* 8. p. 252. l. 12 – p. 255. l. 5.♦.

southern, so-called *Satvat* rulers used the name “*bhoja*” as their royal title.¹⁸⁷ Another example for their relationship with the region is provided by the fact that the epic Bhojakata may correspond to the modern Bhātkulī located in the area of the historical Vidarbha.¹⁸⁸

The *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, outlines the origin of the Bhojas, too: their ancestor was Druhyu, one of Yayāti’s cursed sons.¹⁸⁹ Similarly to Anu, his name may also echo his non-Āryan birth since it can be interpreted as a derivation from the root *√druh*, which means “to be a foe”.¹⁹⁰ Their savage status is likewise apparent in Aśoka’s rock edict from Śāhbāzgarhī, which lists them among such barbarian countries as Yavana (Yona) and Kāmboja (Kāmboya).¹⁹¹

However, the Bhoja people were apparently not content with this pedigree, and thus there are attempts even in the epics to connect them to the celebrated Yādava clan.¹⁹² Originally, though the Yadus may not have belonged to the community of the *śiṣṭas* either, after the cult of Kṛṣṇa became prominent on the Subcontinent, their prestige increased simultaneously, and thus they became one of the highly honoured social groups.¹⁹³

Beyond the mythological heritage, the other main impact on the territory is the historic rule of the Vākātakas. They first rose to fill the power vacuum which emerged in the third century after the collapse of the Sātavāhana Empire.¹⁹⁴ As a southern counterpart of the northern power, the Vākātakas probably aimed to forge a partnership with the rising Guptas. To deepen their alliance, Candragupta II gave his daughter, Prabhāvatī Guptā in marriage to the Vākātaka crown prince, Rudrasena II. Therefore, it is often supposed that Kālidāsa wrote his popular comedy, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* for this occasion, because it was based on a very similar historical event, a matrimonial treaty from the Śuṅga period.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁷ *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* 8.14. p. 231. • – The quotation names the inhabitants of the South as Satvats. It seems plausible that these people became included in the Vṛṣṇis since a clan was known under the name of Sātavata among them. (AIYANGĀR 1901: 495.).

¹⁸⁸ LAW 1943: 369.

¹⁸⁹ *Mahābhārata* 1.80.26.c.

¹⁹⁰ SHAFER 1954: 18.

¹⁹¹ *CII Vol 1*. No. 1.3.13. p. 68. l. 9.

¹⁹² The Bhojas are usually mentioned together with the prominent groups of Yādavas such as the Vṛṣṇis and the Andhakas. (*Mahābhārata* 1.210.18–19, 1.211.2, 1.212.12, 1.212.32, 1.213.29, 1.213.34, 2.55.6, 3.13.1, 3.120.19, 4.67.24, 5.7.1, 5.28.11, 6.20.14, 12.82.29, 14.58.17, 16.2.1, 16.2.3, 16.4.29, 16.4.33, 16.6.2, 16.8.38, 16.9.9.) Besides a few of the famous Yādavas like Ugrasena (*Harivaṃśa* 44.60.), Kāṃsa (*Harivaṃśa* 44.62.) and Rukmin (*Harivaṃśa* 81.40.) are also considered as Bhoja.

¹⁹³ LÉVI 1929: 122.

¹⁹⁴ KULKE – ROTHERMUND 2002: 97.

¹⁹⁵ BAKKER 2006: 175–177; MIRASHI 1963: xxiii.

The same thought can occur in connection with Indumatī's *svayaṃvara* as well.¹⁹⁶ In this case, however, Aja and not a princess symbolises the Guptas, the reason of which could be simply poetical. If the poet had added a female branch to the story, it would have interrupted the linear structure of the epic. On the other hand, the main emphasis is not on the married couple but rather on the pact between the two empires.

In this way, it appears certain that the cultural borderline was situated to south of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. Below it, there flourished two further prominent dynasties, the Kadambas and the Pallavas, which equally showed affinity with the *brāhmaṇical* culture in the Gupta period.¹⁹⁷

The connection of the Pallavas with the Guptas is widely accepted, because Viṣṇugopa, the king of Kāñci (-Kāñceyaka-Viṣṇugopa-) is mentioned among the conquered rulers of the South in the Ilāhābād Inscription of Samudra Gupta.¹⁹⁸ Although the name of the Pallava dynasty does not occur in this context, Viṣṇugopa is known from the Pallava genealogies.¹⁹⁹

In this way, Kāñci is sometimes regarded as the southern extremity of Samudra Gupta's conquest,²⁰⁰ even though it is a bit difficult to believe that the Gupta Empire, reached as far as the Pallava capital. Therefore, Majumdar's supposition that the Pallavas only took part in a southern coalition against the Gupta conqueror seems rather possible.²⁰¹ In any case, there is no reference to the Pallavas in any works of Kālidāsa.

To establish the relationship with the Kadambas,²⁰² on the other hand, the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*, a lost work ascribed to Kālidāsa is usually used. Unfortunately, we know

¹⁹⁶ This was pointed out to me by Csaba Dezső in a personal talk.

¹⁹⁷ Both dynasties were proud of their *brāhmaṇa* origin. As claimed by the famous Tālaguṇḍā inscription of Kākusthavarman (*EI Vol. 8. No. 5. p. 31–33*) dated to the sixth century (KIELHORN 1905–1906a: 31.), the Kadamba rulers considered themselves members of the Mānavya *gotra*. Mayūraśarman, the progenitor of the family is, moreover, eulogised as the most excellent among the twice-borns (*dvij^ōttama*).

The Pallavas, on the other hand, used mythical genealogies, which they supplied with *purāṇic* elements to establish the *brāhmaṇa* origin of their family. (FRANCIS 2011: 341.).

¹⁹⁸ *CII Vol. 3. No. 1. p. 7. l. 19.*

¹⁹⁹ FRANCIS 2013: 40.

²⁰⁰ KULKE – ROTHERMUND 2002: 82.

²⁰¹ MAJUMDAR 1954: 135.

²⁰² To exhibit an alternative way of interpretation Sohoni's distinct supposition can be mentioned. According to him, Kālidāsa, intentionally, alluded to both the Kadamba and the Pallava country in the *Raghuvamśa*. The topic of the thirteenth canto is Rāma's homeward journey, which was actually a convenient moment for Kālidāsa to provide an extended panorama of the Indian landscape. (SOHONI 1979: 2.) In connection with this description, Sohoni referred to some less-known manuscripts, which read the word *pallava* and *kādamba* in the same verse. (SOHONI 1979: 26, 33.) However, as a matter of fact, none of the printed editions of the *Raghuvamśa* contain the word *pallava* here, and they commonly read *palvala* instead. (*Raghuvamśa* 13.27.♦).

no more than a couple of verses from it cited by some later authors such as Bhoja,²⁰³ Kṣemendra,²⁰⁴ and Rājaśekhara,²⁰⁵ but, in spite of this, it is sometimes assumed that this poem was actually based on an event of Kālidāsa's life, when he was sent as an ambassador to the king of Kuntala.²⁰⁶ Nevertheless, there is no consensus which territory was designated by this name, despite quite a few efforts to identify it among others with the Vākātakas,²⁰⁷ the Kadambas,²⁰⁸ and the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas.²⁰⁹ However, excepting the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-theory attributed to Mirashi, none of these hypotheses can be confirmed by epigraphic evidence. Mirashi pointed out that in the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī Grant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Avidheya,²¹⁰ Mānāṅka, the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa realm was called the king of Kuntala.²¹¹

Thus, it seems that the description of Raghu's southern conquest omits those kingdoms which belonged to the community of the *śiṣṭas* and concentrates exclusively on the southernmost Tamil kingdoms of the Colas, the Ceras and the Pāṇḍyas.

In the *purāṇic* genealogies, these people are derived from Turvasu, the son of Yayāti, who was originally known as the progenitor of the Yavanas.²¹² The *Harivaṃśa* maintains that the patriline of Turvasu's house became extinct after the sixth generation after Marutta's death. Because he was sonless, Marutta's daughter was given in marriage to Duṣyanta, the contemporary Paurava king. Since Pūru was the only one among Yayāti's sons, who avoided the paternal curse, this marriage could at once mean the returning of the Turvasu branch to the pure bloodline. Duṣyanta's son from Marutta's daughter was Ākrīḍa, who begot four children called Pāṇḍya, Kola,²¹³ Cola, and Kerala. As their names foreshadow, they became the founders of the Dravidian kingdoms.²¹⁴

In Kālidāsa's poetic world, it is the Pāṇḍya domain which appears as the central one of the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha. It not only occurs in Raghu's *digvijaya*, but its monarch also represents the South at Indumatī's *svayaṃvara*. Although this kind of

²⁰³ *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* 8. p. 423.

²⁰⁴ *Aucityavicāracarcā* p. 139.

²⁰⁵ *Kāvyaṃimāṃsā* 11. p. 60–61.

²⁰⁶ SOHONI 1979: 14.

²⁰⁷ AIYANGAR 1941: 120.

²⁰⁸ SOHONI 1979: 15.

²⁰⁹ MIRASHI 1982: 177–178.

²¹⁰ MIRASHI 1982: 177.

²¹¹ *EI Vol. 37*. No. 3. p. 20. l. 1–2•.

²¹² *Mahābhārata* 1.80.26.b.

²¹³ They possibly were identical with the Kolisarpas (MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 313.), an ethnic group occurring in the *Harivaṃśa* (10.44.c) among barbarian tribes vanquished by Sagara.

²¹⁴ *Harivaṃśa* 23.123–129 – There are, moreover, some similar accounts with little alterations in many of the *purāṇas* such as the *Agni-* (276.1–3), the *Bhāgavata-* (9.23.16c–18), the *Brahma-* (13.142–148.b), the *Brahmāṇḍa-* (2.74.1–6), and the *Matsya-purāṇa* (48.1–5).

dominance of the Pāṇḍyas is historically unprovable, it recalls the *Mahābhārata*, which shows the Pāṇḍya king as a great supporter of the Pāṇḍavas²¹⁵ in contrast to the other barbarians, who were mostly allies of the Kauravas.

The association of the Pāṇḍyas with the Pāṇḍavas, on the other hand, could be explained simply by the similar pronunciation of the two words. Presumably, it was for this reason that Kātyāyana also regarded the Pāṇḍyas as Pāṇḍu's descendants.²¹⁶

There are, however, a few modern scholars, such as Sircar and Parpola, who attempted to find some additional as well as more persuasive grounds behind the Pāṇḍya-Pāṇḍava relationship. Sircar based his supposition principally on the Greek sources, which maintain that the name of the Tamil dynasty derives from the name of Herakles's daughter called Pandaia (Πανδαίη). Because it is usually accepted that the Greeks refer to Kṛṣṇa as Herakles,²¹⁷ Sircar was quite convinced that the Pāṇḍyas were somehow connected to the Vṛṣṇis, the relatives of the Pāṇḍavas. To support his standpoint, he drew attention to another parallel: the Pāṇḍya capital, Maturai was apparently the Tamil equivalent of the Vṛṣṇi centre, Mathurā.²¹⁸ These striking coincidences ultimately urged him to surmise that a Vṛṣṇi group moved to the South and colonised the native Dravidian population.²¹⁹ Thus, Sircar's theory would provide at once an explanation for that distinctive attentiveness, which is paid to the Pāṇḍyas in contrast to the other Dravidians in the *Raghuvamśa*.

Parpola improved upon this idea and tried to reconstruct the steps of the presumed exodus. According to him, the Siṃhala and the Vṛṣṇi migrations are related to each other, because both movements emerged from Gujarāt.²²⁰ However, it seems more than likely that the Siṃhala homeland, Lāḷa, described in the *Mahāvamśa* as being close to Vaṅga, was identical with the East-Indian Rāḍhā,²²¹ and not with Lāṭa as Parpola assumed.²²²

The main objection to the Pāṇḍya-Vṛṣṇi theory was set forth by Aiyangar and Zvebil. Both of these scholars had deep misgivings about the widely accepted identification of Megasthenes's Herakles, and therefore, they claimed that it was Śiva, who may have

²¹⁵ *Mahābhārata* 5.22.22, 5.168.24.●.

²¹⁶ SIRCAR 1971b: 54.

²¹⁷ PUSKÁS 1990: 46; SIRCAR 1971b: 54.

²¹⁸ SIRCAR 1971b: 54.

²¹⁹ SIRCAR 1971b: 54.

²²⁰ PARPOLA 2002: 363–365.

²²¹ According to the *Mahāvamśa* (6.1–5), the daughter of the Vaṅga king left her home and travelled to Magadha with a caravan. Her journey, however, was interrupted by a lion attack in Lāḷa. To get to Magadha from Vaṅga it is necessary to cross Rāḍhā which can correspond to Lāḷa (DEY 1979: 164.), however, Lāṭa of Western India preferred by Parpola apparently makes no sense in this context.

²²² PARPOLA 2002: 363.

been understood under this name instead of Kṛṣṇa.²²³ This argument is based on the local tradition of Maturai rather than on the Sanskrit sources. In the mythology of the Pāṇḍyas it was Śiva, who in the form of Sundara (Cuntara) had a key role. Furthermore, the tale about Herakles's daughter mentioned by Megasthenes may echo a Pāṇḍya legend,²²⁴ in which Śiva appears as the father of the Pāṇḍya queen.²²⁵

In order to achieve a consensus between these opposing standpoints, a couple of scholars such as Dessigane, Pattabiramin and Filliozat elaborated a theory, according to which a pre-Hindu deity was adopted on the one hand as Cuntara by the major Śaiva community, and on the other hand as Aḷakar by the Vaiṣṇava minority of Maturai.²²⁶

In Kālidāsa's poem, it is the Śaiva affinity which is reflected more, since the description about the Pāṇḍya king at Indumatī's *svayaṃvara*, though it is full of mythological allusions, omits the relationship with the Pāṇḍavas.²²⁷

In the portrait of the Pāṇḍya king, the non-sectarian ṛṣi of the South, Agastya appears first as serving the king in his religious affairs:

<Sunandā Indumatīm uvāca>

Vindhyasya samstambhayitā mahādrer niḥśeṣa-pītṛ-ōjjhita-sindhu-nāthah|

prīty'āśvamedhā-vabhṛth-ārdra-mūrteḥ sausnātiko yasya <Pāṇḍyasya> bhavaty Agastyah||²²⁸

The sage Agastya, the subduer of the great mountain Vindhya, and by whom the ocean was drunk up to a drop and poured forth again, became, through affection, the catechiser on holy ablutions of him, whose person was wet with the concluding holy baths of the *āśvamedha* sacrifice.²²⁹

Agastya's figure is twofold. On the one hand, it warrants the civilised status of the Pāṇḍya king, since the sage, as we have seen, is an allegorical figure of the *brāhmaṇical* expansion to South-India. On the other hand, the locals also worship him as the founder of the Tamil culture.²³⁰

Apart from Agastya, Kālidāsa adds that the Pāṇḍya ruler was allied with Rāvaṇa, the demon-king of Lankā, in his war against Indra:

²²³ AIYANGAR 1942: 393; ZVELEBIL 1992: 103.

²²⁴ According to the local tradition, a queen called Taṭatakā ruled over the Pāṇḍya kingdom after Malayadhvaja. She was, in fact, an incarnation of the territorial goddess, Mīṇākṣī, who, incidentally, was born from one of Śiva's eight bodies. (*Hālāśyamāhātmya* 8.1–124 p. 49–55).

²²⁵ AIYANGAR 1942: 393.

²²⁶ DESSIGANE – PATTABIRAMIN – FILLIOZAT 1960: xiv.

²²⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 6.59–65.

²²⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 6.61.

²²⁹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 180.

²³⁰ SIVARAJA PILLAI w. d: 6.

<Sunandā Indumatīm uvāca>

astram Harād āptavatā <Pāṇḍyena> dur-āpam yen'Ēndra-lok^āvajayāya dṛptaḥ|
*purā Janasthāna-vimarda-śaṅkī sandhāya Laṅk^ādhipatiḥ prastasthe||*²³¹

In former times the haughty king of Laṅkā, fearing the destruction of Janasthāna, made peace with this king who had obtained from Śiva a missile which was hard to be overcome, and then set out for the conquest of the regions of Indra.²³²

Rāvaṇa's conquest of heaven is a widely known episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,²³³ in which, however, there is no mention of the Pāṇḍya king. Furthermore, the commentators of the *Raghuvamśa*, excepting the Keralans,²³⁴ failed to refer to any story of this strange friendship. According to Vallabhadeva, Rāvaṇa's alliance with the Pāṇḍyas was a simple political step to guarantee the protection of his kingdom as long as he was engaged in his invasion against heaven.²³⁵

The same verse, on the other hand, eulogises the Pāṇḍya king as one, to whom Śiva donated a weapon (*astra*). In connection with this statement, the commentators suggested that the Pāṇḍya king was the owner of the fabulous Pāśupatāstra or Brahmaśiras.²³⁶ However, to possess such a magical weapon was not an everyday privilege. There

²³¹ *Raghuvamśa* 6.62.

²³² NANDARGIKAR 1971: 181.

²³³ *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.27.1–30.14.

²³⁴ The commentators of Kerala quoted a lesser-known work called *Praśastimālā*, according to which the Pāṇḍya king worshipped Śiva to obtain the Pāśupatāstra (which was identified here with Brahmā's head) because he was seriously endangered by his terrible neighbour, Rāvaṇa. They also had an individual interpretation for the relationship between Rāvaṇa and the Pāṇḍya ruler. To explain this verse, both of them used the term of *pārṣṇigrāha* which had twofold meaning.

Aruṇagiriṇātha apparently could not endure the friendship between Rāvaṇa and the Pāṇḍya king and therefore, he thought that Rāvaṇa considered the neighbouring sovereign as a potential enemy in the rear. This way of thinking corresponds to the first definition of *pārṣṇigrāha* (ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.61.●).

On the other hand, Nārāyaṇa, who usually followed Aruṇagiriṇātha, took over the concept of *pārṣṇigrāha*, but he used it in its other sense. In this way, he maintained that Rāvaṇa employed the Pāṇḍya king as a commander in the rear of his army (NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.61.●).

²³⁵ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.62.●.

²³⁶ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.61.●; JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.63.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.62.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.61.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.62.●.

are only a couple of heroes known like Arjuna²³⁷ and Droṇa,²³⁸ who received such a boon from Śiva.

In this way, either the alliance with Rāvaṇa or the acquisition of the Śaiva weapon indicate that there must have been a mythological tradition behind Kālidāsa's portrait, which had inspired it.

As far as I know, neither the epics nor the classical *purāṇas* contain such a legend in which the Pāṇḍya king would appear as Indra's enemy. However, some unexpected parallels are found in the collection of the legends of Maturai called *Hālāsyamāhātmya*.

At the beginning of time Śiva incarnated himself on the Earth in the form of the Pāṇḍya king by the name of Sundara.²³⁹ His son was known as Ugra Pāṇḍya (Ukkira Pāṇṭiyaṇ), whose reign was continuously disturbed by the jealous Indra (Intiraṇ).²⁴⁰

Once the king of gods denied even his shower from the Pāṇḍya kingdom, so Ugra needed to capture four roaming clouds. However, the imprisonment of the clouds was a sufficient offence for Indra to declare war on the Pāṇḍya realm. In this difficult situation, Śiva did not forget to take care of his son and presented him his divine discus, with the help of which he defeated Indra.²⁴¹

This story shows that Indra could be equally hostile to both Rāvaṇa and the Pāṇḍya king. The occurrence of Śiva's weapon, furthermore, also supports the somewhat unexpected conclusion that Kālidāsa could be somehow aware of that tradition from which the Maturai legend originated.

To corroborate this idea, I suggest returning to Kālidāsa's portrait of the Pāṇḍya king, in which Nāgapura is mentioned as the Pāṇḍya capital:

<Sunandā Indumatīm uvāca>

ath'ōnnasam Nāga-purasya nātham dauvārikī <Sunandā> deva-sa-rūpam etya|
itaś cakor^ākṣi vilokay'ēti nāg^āṅgan^ābhām nijagāda Bhojyām||²⁴²

²³⁷ It is a well-known episode of the *Mahābhārata* (3.40.1–41.26.) which relates how Arjuna obtained the divine Pāśupatāstra from the Kirāta-formed Śiva. This event incidentally served for Bhāravi (sixth century A. D.) as the topic of his *mahākāvya*, the *Kirātārjunīya*.

²³⁸ The most famous possessor of the other Śaiva weapon, the Brahmaśiras is evidently Droṇa. He learned its employment from his master called Agniveśya and he transmitted it to Arjuna, the best one of his students. (*Mahābhārata* 1.128.18.d*80.16–30).

²³⁹ *Hālāsyamāhātmya* 9.1–2 p. 55.●.

²⁴⁰ *Hālāsyamāhātmya* 17.19.c–23 p. 91.●.

²⁴¹ *Hālāsyamāhātmya* 18.1–81 p. 93–97.

²⁴² *Raghuvamśa* 6.59.

After [Indumatī], the door-keeper, came to the lord of Nāgapura who had a prominent nose, and whose form was equal to the gods' form, she told Bhoja's sister: Look here, o girl with eyes resembling the eyes of *cakoras*!

Although most of the commentators read Uragapura instead of Nāgapura,²⁴³ this widespread reading seems to be a later corruption. It seems probable that the possibly original Nāgapura may have been substituted with such a synonym which can be easily identified with the modern Voraiyur (Uraiur).²⁴⁴ However, Voraiyur was the ancient capital of the Colas,²⁴⁵ but not that of the Pāṇḍyas.²⁴⁶ Thus, it is worth investigating, whether the name Nāgapura can be used for Maturai.

Its literal meaning is "Snake-town" or "Town of the snakes", which appears quite difficult to be connected to the Pāṇḍya capital. Nevertheless, Maturai is often mentioned in the Tamil sources as Ālavāy (or Tiruvālavāy) which also means snake.²⁴⁷ According to the *Hālāsyamāhātmya*, it was Śiva's snake who helped the founder trace out the boundary of the town, and therefore the place became famous for it.²⁴⁸ In this way, Kālidāsa's Nāgapura is a possible synonym of Maturai,²⁴⁹ and the employment of such an appellation for the town supports further that Kālidāsa could have been more or less acquainted with the local folklore of the Pāṇḍya capital.

Apart from the Pāṇḍyas, the other two Tamil domains are quite under-represented in Kālidāsa's work. Kerala at least occurs in the *Raghuvamśa*,²⁵⁰ though its strange position between the Kāverī and the Pāṇḍyas was a great challenge for the transmitters. To the Colas, on the other hand, there is no allusion excepting the only mention of their holy river, the Kāverī.²⁵¹

After all, it is not an easy task to state anything certain about the history of these kingdoms in the Gupta period. Even if we accepted that Samudra Gupta's invasion had reached Kāñcipuram, it would not seem credible that any campaign of the Guptas could get beyond it. However, according to the Ilāhābād pillar inscription, there were

²⁴³ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.58; HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 6.59; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.59; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.58; ŚRĪṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 117.^v

²⁴⁴ DEY 1979: 211.

²⁴⁵ DEY 1979: 211.

²⁴⁶ MIRASHI – NAVLEKAR 1969: 11.

²⁴⁷ MIRASHI – NAVLEKAR 1969: 11.

²⁴⁸ As maintained by the *Hālāsyamāhātmya* Śiva sent Vāsuki to lay down the borderlines of Maturai after the *pralaya*. In return, Vāsuki asked that the town would be named after him. (*Hālāsyamāhātmya* 55.34–39 p. 232.).

²⁴⁹ MIRASHI – NAVLEKAR 1969: 11.

²⁵⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 4.48. (See p. 47.).

²⁵¹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.47. (See p. 47.).

diplomatic relations with Siṃhala (modern Śrī Laṅkā),²⁵² which does not exclude that the Guptas were in a similar connection with the Tamil kingdoms, even though their inscriptions do not attest it.

On the other hand, the *Caṅkam* corpus of Tamil literature also contains allusions to the historical past, but its employment as a historical source is quite questionable because of the absence of the chronologies and genealogies of the royal families.²⁵³ In this way, the reality of Kālidāsa's Pāṇḍya-centric view remains open.

Raghu cajoles the South

As a matter of fact, it is quite difficult to make certain statements about Kālidāsa's relationship with South-India. On the one hand, there is a great number of those well-known products collected here, with which Dakṣiṇāpatha is regularly associated. Cardamom, pepper, sandalwood and the pearls of the Tāmraparṇī, in other words, each of the necessary attributes of the southern scenery, which, later, Rājaśekhara prescribes in his work on poetics,²⁵⁴ are found here without exception. On the other hand, the textual tradition reveals that Kālidāsa, perhaps, committed some tiny mistakes, too, which, therefore, raise doubts about his familiarity with the place.

I have already referred above briefly to the unusual position of Kerala. It occurs just after the Kāverī. This inaccuracy was of course unbearable for many of the later commentators, and therefore, they transposed the verse after the description of the Pāṇḍya country.²⁵⁵ Instead of this innovation, Aruṇagirīnātha read *Coḷaka-yoṣitām* in the place of *Kerala-yoṣitām*.²⁵⁶ This alteration is obviously inspired by the appearance of the Kāverī in the subsequent verse. These two ways of alteration at once affirm the priority of Vallabhadeva's reading.²⁵⁷ Thus, it only remains to be explained why Kālidāsa mentioned Kerala in such an uncommon position.

For this question, two possible answers can be given. The first is that, Kālidāsa, as a native North-Indian, was not too conversant with the South-Indian geography, and he committed a simple mistake here. On the other hand, it is likewise conceivable that Kālidāsa's Kerala concept differed slightly from the today one, and formerly Kerala may have encompassed the source of the Kāverī in the Koḍagu (Coorg), too.²⁵⁸

²⁵² *CII Vol. 3*, p. 8, l. 23.

²⁵³ SASTRI 1954: 202.

²⁵⁴ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* 17, p. 92–93.

²⁵⁵ HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.54; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.54.

²⁵⁶ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.46.

²⁵⁷ GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: xxxv–xxxvi.

²⁵⁸ GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: xxxv.

As far as the structure of the description is concerned, it is less consistent than the previous one. These verses focus on several stereotypes, which constitute a sloppy row. A little coherence is only achieved by Raghu's presence, who occasionally appears in the role of a lover attempting to seduce the southern quarter.

From the beginning of the description there are a couple of verses which compare Raghu's activity to that of a lover. He perfumes the Kāverī, imagined as a woman, with the ichor of his war elephants, which makes her husband, the Ocean jealous:

*<Raghuḥ> sa sainya-paribhogēṇa gaja-dāna-su-gandhinā|
Kāverīm saritām patyuh śaṅkanīyām iv'ākarot||*²⁵⁹

By reason of the enjoyments in the waters of the army, bearing the sweet smell of the elephantine juice in it, he made the river Kāverī, suspectable as it were, the lord of the rivers.²⁶⁰

After that, the dust produced by Raghu's army takes over the place of the aromatic powder on the hair of Keralan women:

*bhay^ôtsrṣṭa-vibhūṣāṇām tena <Raghuṇā> Kerala-yoṣitām
alakeṣu camū-reṇuś cūrṇa-pratinidhī-kṛtaḥ||*²⁶¹

By him, the clouds of dust raised by the army was made a substitute for the saffron powder in the hair of the women of Kerala country who had, though fear, flung aside their ornaments.²⁶²

And finally, the whole region is personified as a beautiful woman, whose breasts are the Malaya and the Durdura, and whose buttocks the Sahya:

*sa <Raghuḥ> nirviśya yathā-kāmaṁ taṭa-sv-ādhīna-candanau|
stanāv iva diśas tasyāḥ śailau Malaya-Durdurau||
a-sahya-vikramaḥ Sahyaṁ dūra-muktam udanvatā|
nitambam iva medinyāḥ srast^âṁśukam alaṅghayat||*²⁶³

Having enjoyed to his heart's content the two mountains Malaya and Durdura, both of which were covered [well] with sandle forests, on their summits, as if they were the two breasts of that quarter, with their surface besmeared with yellow sandle, he of irresistible

²⁵⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.47.

²⁶⁰ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 107.

²⁶¹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.48.

²⁶² NANDARGIKAR 1971: 111.

²⁶³ *Raghuvamśa* 4.54–55.

valour crossed the mountain Sahya, left afar by the ocean (far away from it) as if it were the rump of the earth, the woven garments on which are slipped out.²⁶⁴

In this way, the conqueror and the conquered area eventually transform into a loving couple here.

The remaining verses are just loosely connected to this leading motif, and they can be rather regarded as poetical etudes on the topic of the South. The whole account is introduced by Agastya, the emblematic sage of the South and the betel nut trees (*pūga*, *Areca catechu*)²⁶⁵ covering the seaside:

tato velā-taṭen'aiva phalavat-pūga-mālinā|
*Agastya-caritām āsām an-āsāya-jayo <Raghuh> yayau||*²⁶⁶

Thence he moved towards the direction resorted to by the star Agastya [or frequented by sage Agastya] along the side of the sea shore covered with the rows of forests of fruit bearing *pūga* trees, scarcely obstructed in his course of conquest.²⁶⁷

The fruit of these trees is incidentally the most elementary ingredient of the *tāmbūla* (pan), the consumption of which spread from South-India.²⁶⁸ The *Kāmasūtra*, moreover, prescribes its usage before the sexual intercourse,²⁶⁹ and thus its mention may foreshadow the amorous atmosphere of the country.

After the introduction, the following two verses are dedicated to presenting the above discussed territories of the Kāverī and Kerala, followed by the Malaya, the most emblematic mountain system of the South.²⁷⁰ It is generally identified with the Travankor Hills (southern parts of the Western Ghats) together with the Cardamom Mountains,²⁷¹ though it actually seems to be a more universal symbol of the South than to regard it as a strictly determinable geographical location. In the *Mahābhārata*, the Malaya appears as the emblem (*dhvaja*) of the Pāṇḍya king, the most characteristic ruler of the far South,²⁷² who is, moreover, designated as the lord of Malaya (Malay[^]ēśvara).²⁷³ The obscurity of its location is, on the other hand, attested well in Rājasekhara's

²⁶⁴ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 110.

²⁶⁵ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 641.

²⁶⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.46.

²⁶⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 107.

²⁶⁸ BASHAM 1959: 194.

²⁶⁹ *Kāmasūtra* 2.10.10–14 p. 151–154.

²⁷⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 4.49.

²⁷¹ DEY 1979: 22.

²⁷² *Mahābhārata* 8.15.19, 8.15.32.

²⁷³ *Mahābhārata* 8.15.35.c.

poetical work, according to which there actually exist four distinct southern places known under the name of Malaya.²⁷⁴

In any case, it seems certain that Kālidāsa dedicated three verses to illustrate this mountain.²⁷⁵ Although its name is only found in the first one, there occur the typical fruits of the area, which could hardly allude to any other place.

On the other hand, each of its products is associated with the parts of Raghu's army. This way of illustration is a recurrent poetic method in Kālidāsa's description of the *digvijaya*. First Raghu's troops occupy the pepper fields, then his horses cause damages to the cardamom bushes, and finally he ties up his elephants to the sandal trees. Although the military forces occupy the territory, it never loses its idyllic atmosphere. Dakṣiṇāpatha seems, therefore, a pleasure garden, where the soldiers can get rid of the fatigue of the eastern campaign, rather than a subsequent battlefield.

The first plants associated with the Malaya are the pepper plantations:

balair adhyuṣitās tasya <Raghoḥ> vijigīṣor gat^ādhvanah|
*hārīt^ôcchiṣṭa-maricā Malay^âdrer upatyakāḥ||*²⁷⁶

The army of him who was desirous of conquest and who had therefore travelled a long way, encamped in the valleys of the Malaya mountains where [the sprouts of] the pepper shrubs have been half-eaten by green pigeon. (transl. with modifications)²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ *Malaya-viśeṣās tu catvāraḥ* (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* 17. p. 92.) – The quoted passage is differently translated by Stchoupak and Renou: “Quant au Malaya, ses traits propres sont au nombre de quatre.” (STCHOUPAK–RENOU 1946: 242.) Thus, in their opinion, Rājaśekhara exhibits not four independent mountains but four aspects of the same one. I agree that it is a more rational way of interpretation, however, the example verses provided by Rājaśekhara suggest that there are actually four distinct places. The first example introduces a range, which is the home of the sandalwood, the pepper, the *kakkola*, the cardamom, and the jasmine-tree (*jātī*). (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* 17. p. 92.●) It seems to be the Malaya about which Kālidāsa writes since he uses the same attributes (pepper, cardamom, sandalwood). The second example (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* 17. p. 92–93●) designates the Malaya as Agastya's residence, where the source of Tāmraparṇī is found. This location is, therefore, identified with the modern Potiyil or Potiyam (DEY 1979: 122.), which is also known as Akattiya-malai. (ZWELEBIL 1992: 239.) This Tamil appellation means Agastya's Malaya, and perhaps implies that his Malaya is not completely identical with great Malaya where the cardamom, etc. plantations are situated. The recognition of the third Malaya is a little problematic. (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* 17. p. 93.●) The verse representing it alludes to an eminent sage (*muni-puṃgava*) but I cannot identify him without context. My guess would be the Sahya Mountain, since it is sometimes also called Malaya. (DEY 1979: 171.) Finally, Rājaśekhara's last Malaya-verse evidently refers to that Malaya which is situated on Laṅkā. (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* 17. p. 93.●).

²⁷⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 4.49–51.

²⁷⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.49.

²⁷⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 108. (modified using the translation in GOODALL 2001:105.) – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *māric^ôdbhrānta-hārītā* instead of *hārīt^ôcchiṣṭa-maricā* in the third *pāda*,

According to Kālidāsa, the pepper shrubs are half-eaten by the pigeons. Apparently this reading of the Kashmirian recension (*hārīt^ôcchiṣṭa-maricā*) was displeasing for the aesthetic sensibility of some of the later transmitters, because of the reference to the leftover scraps (*ucchiṣṭa*). Most of the commentators read *māric^ôdbhrānta-hārītā* (vl. *mārica-*, *mārica-*) (the pigeons flew up from the pepper) instead.²⁷⁸

Apart from the aesthetic question, S. R. Sarma pointed out that several species of birds consuming pungent fruits might have been a literary topos (*kavisamaya*). To establish his assumption, he listed a couple of examples from the *Kādambarī*²⁷⁹ and the *Vāsavadattā*,²⁸⁰ in which the same thought occurred.²⁸¹

After the pepper vines, Kālidāsa touches upon the cardamom plants, the other typical spice of South India. This verse is also transmitted in two different forms. According to the Kashmirian version, Raghu's horses shatter the cardamom plantation, from where black dust rises and covers the sky:

ājāneya-khura-kṣuṇṇa-pakv^ailā-kṣetra-sambhavam|
*vyānaśe sapadi vyoma kīṭa-koś^ābilaṃ rajah||*²⁸²

The hooves of [Raghu's] thoroughbreds trampled the ripe cardamom fruits, whose dust, dirty with cobwebs, filled the air.²⁸³

In the other version shared by all the other commentaries, we find rutting elephants instead of dirt and insects:

sasañjur aśva-kṣuṇṇānām elānām utpaṭiṣṇavaḥ|
*tulya-gandhiṣu matt^ēbha-kāṭeṣu phala-reṇavaḥ||*²⁸⁴

Trodden by hooves of horses, the dust of *elā* (cardamom) fruits rose up and clung to the sweating temples of the infuriated elephants, having a similar odour.²⁸⁵

and translates it as follows: "...in the valleys of the Malaya mountains covered with pepper forests, where flocks of green pigeons were flying about."

²⁷⁸ GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: xxxvi.

²⁷⁹ *Kādambarī* p. 533. l. 5.●.

²⁸⁰ *Vāsavadattā* p. 129. l. 10–11●.

²⁸¹ GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: xxxvi.n.

²⁸² *Raghuvamśa* 4.50.

²⁸³ GOODALL 2001: 106.

²⁸⁴ *Raghuvamśa* *N_{ed}* 4.47.

²⁸⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 108.

This alteration can be explained likewise by a presumed change in aesthetic taste. Thus, to avoid disgust, the replacement of the impure beings with such noble animals as elephants could be an appropriate way of revision.²⁸⁶

Finally, sandal wood occurs as the third characteristic plant of the Malaya:

bhogi-veṣṭana-mārgeṣu candanānām samarpitam|
*n'āsrāṃsat karīṇām graivam tripadī-chedinām api||*²⁸⁷

Fastened (secured) round the lines (marks) of (hollows, depressions made by the) coilings of serpents on sandal trees, the neck-chains of elephants, bursting their foot-chains, slipped not out.²⁸⁸

The sandal trees are quite closely associated with the Malaya, to which relationship there are references since the *Mahābhārata*.²⁸⁹ They are, moreover, known under the name of *Malaya-ja* (growing on the Malaya).²⁹⁰

On the other hand, the sandal trees are conventionally regarded as the hiding places of snakes. In this way a strong ambivalence characterises their poetic descriptions. The fragrant sandal trees first seem to be lovely places, but they are not freely enjoyable because of the permanent danger caused by snakes.²⁹¹ In this case, the sandal trees, in accordance with common thinking, occur together with the snakes, but they do not generate any disgust.

Apart from the snakes, the aromatic powder produced from sandal wood occurs in literature as being smeared on beautiful female breasts.²⁹² In this way the verse points forward to the closing picture, in which the Malaya becomes the breast of the personified Dakṣiṇāpatha.

According to Kālidāsa, Raghu chose these trees to tether his elephants. They are qualified as *tripadī-chedi*. The interpretation of this expression divides the commentators. Most of them explain it as characterising such elephants which break their fetters.²⁹³ The other possible way is represented by Vallabhadeva, who understands it as

²⁸⁶ GOODALL 2001: 106.

²⁸⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 4.51.

²⁸⁸ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 108–109.

²⁸⁹ *Mahābhārata* 1.68.54.*647.3, 8.15.32.●.

²⁹⁰ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 792.

²⁹¹ *Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha* 2072, 3694.●.

²⁹² *Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha* 8544, 9188.●.

²⁹³ They mostly refer to the *Yādavakośa* to explain the verse: *tripadī pāda-bandhanam iti Yādavaḥ* | (ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.51; HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.53; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.48; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.51.).

a term signifying a type of elephant's gait. The compound refers to the elephants interrupting the practice of this specific manner of walking.²⁹⁴

After the plants of the Malaya mountain, the Pāṇḍya country comes into view:

diśi mandāyate tejo dakṣiṇasyāṃ raver api|
tasyām eva Raghoḥ Pāṇḍyāḥ pratāpaṃ na viṣehire||
Tāmrāparṇī-sametasya muktā-sāraṃ mah^ôdadheḥ
*te nipatya dadus tasmai yaśaḥ svam iva sañcitam||*²⁹⁵

In the southern quarter even the scorching rays of the Sun become dim; in that same quarter the Pāṇḍya princes withstood not the power of Raghu.

Those princes bowing down to him offered him presents of the best of pearls collected from that part of the great ocean, where the river Tāmrāparṇī falls into it: (thus giving him), as it were, their accumulated glory.²⁹⁶

Raghu's energy (*tejas*) is compared here to that of the Sun. Thus, the Pāṇḍya people are not able to endure Raghu's heat, which always burns, in opposition with the Sun softening in the South.

In this way, the defeated Pāṇḍyas present pearls of the Tāmrāparṇī to Raghu, which is the last in the series of the clichés about the South. The pearls are, moreover, imagined as the manifestations of the Pāṇḍya glory, since both of them are white-coloured.

Finally, the portrait of the South is terminated by the above-discussed erotic simile expressed in a *yugalaka* (a unit of two *ślokas*).²⁹⁷ This closing picture has a twofold role. On the one hand, the two classic southern mountains, the Malaya and the Durdura (Nilgiri hills),²⁹⁸ imagined as female breasts, appear as the concluding elements of the description of the South. On the other hand, the Sahya (northern parts of Western Ghats),²⁹⁹ pictured as the buttocks of the South, already introduces the western region.

²⁹⁴ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.51.♦.

²⁹⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 4.52–53.

²⁹⁶ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 109.

²⁹⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 4.54–55 (See p. 47–48).

²⁹⁸ DEY 1979: 53.

²⁹⁹ DEY 1979: 171.

PAŚCIMADEŚA

After Raghu passed the Sahya, the following lines are dedicated to the description of Paścimadeśa (Western India). Historically, this region functioned as the Western gate of India until the Age of Discovery. The Greeks, the Parthians, the Scythians, and the other post-Āryan immigrants arrived here and mixed with the former inhabitants. Thus, it is this blend that resulted in the unique culture of Western India through the ages.

The arriving ethnic groups usually appeared as new conquerors on the Subcontinent, and founded independent kingdoms, where they formed the martial aristocracy. These people, therefore, differed characteristically from the barbarian communities of the East and the South, where the pre-Āryan inhabitants usually intended to assimilate into the prestigious community of the *śiṣṭas*. In the case of the West, however, the *śiṣṭas* themselves needed to integrate the ruling foreigners into their well-built social system. To explain the regal status of the foreigners could actually be a serious challenge, but nevertheless it was quite necessary because of the strict ethical rules. In this way, the Hindus sometimes regarded them as *kṣatriyas* who had become degraded because of stopping the performance of the Vedic rituals and not seeing any *brāhmaṇas*.³⁰⁰

Furthermore, due to the continuous migrational waves, *Āryanization* remained almost permanent here. This process is, therefore, observable in West-India rather than in the other regions. This is, moreover, discernible in Kālidāsa's description of the region, which concentrates, thus, on two, historically as well as geographically separated countries, namely Aparānta (Southwest)³⁰¹ and Persia (Northwest).

On the one hand, Aparānta was probably a kind of melting pot where the *Āryanization* was principal in Kālidāsa's age. On the other hand, the Persians, as members of a similarly esteemed civilisation, were never influenced so greatly by the community of the *śiṣṭas* that they would lose their own cultural heritage. By reason of the characteristic contrast between these countries, I analyse them individually in the following chapters.

APARĀNTA

Aparānta seems a bit the odd one out among the places conquered by Raghu. Both the Eastern and the Southern countries were named after several pre-Āryan peoples. On the contrary, Aparānta is a Sanskrit designation which refers to the geographical

³⁰⁰ *Mahābhārata* 13.33.19.; *Manusmṛiti* 10.43–44.

³⁰¹ As a matter of fact, there is no consensus among the several authorities on the exact classification of Aparānta. Most of the commentators considered it a part of Paścimadeśa, however, some other texts such as that the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (1.16.56–59) and the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 17. p. 93.) group it into Dakṣiṇāpatha. This latter detachment was incidentally followed by Vallabhadeva (comm. ad *Ragh* 4.61.).

location of the territory but not to its residents. Thus, its uncivilised status is not as obvious as in the case of the previous ones, but the mythological tradition preserves a few elements which can allude to it.

The region is normally associated with the Haihaya dynasty and Paraśurāma's activity. So, there is no lack of rich folklore, on the basis of which the greater area is divided into two parts, the Haihaya country called Anūpa and the seashore by the name of Aparānta.

According to the *purāṇic* genealogies, the Haihayas are derived from Yadu, whose lineage consists of two main branches, namely the Haihayas and the Yādavas.³⁰² Thus, the Haihaya clan, similarly to the Yādavas, may originally have been among the outsiders of *brāhmaṇical* society, but later they got a very honourable rank inside it.

Their case, as Kṛṣṇa's most distant relatives, is nevertheless somewhat different. Unlike the glorious Yādava heroes, the Haihayas often appear as the typical bad warriors especially in the later sources. The most famous example of their evil nature is undisputedly Jamadagni's, who urged his son Paraśurāma to destroy the whole warrior class (*kṣatra*).³⁰³

Although their ritually pure status was not questioned, their alliance against Sagara with the typical folks of the western barbaricum such as the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pahlavas, and the Kāmbojas was probably not seen in a favourable light.³⁰⁴ According to the legend, the Haihayas organised a campaign against the Ikṣvākus, in which the Yavana, etc. people supported them. They captured Ayodhyā and its lord, Bāhu ran away with his wives. In the wilderness Bāhu's son Sagara was born, and once he grew up, he returned to get back his paternal heritage. He easily overcame the Haihayas and punished their allies with exclusion from the community of the *śiṣṭas*.³⁰⁵ Because the conflict of the Haihayas both with the Bhārgavas and with the Ikṣvākus ended with their annihilation, they served evidently as an eternal memento for the subsequent warriors not to abuse their might. As a result of Paraśurāma's deification, they assumed

³⁰² According to the extended genealogy of the *Harivaṃśa*, Yadu, Yayāti's son had five children, but only two of them, Kroṣṭṛ and Sahasrada started enduring dynasties. The latter one begot Hehaya, who was known as the Haihaya progenitor, and whose main branch was descended in the following way: Yadu–Sahasrada or Sahasraujas–Cakradāsa (only in the *Mahābhārata*)–Hehaya–Dharmanetra–Kānta or Kārta–Kṛtavīrya–Arjuna. (*Harivaṃśa* 23.134–138; *Mahābhārata* 2. App. I. No. 39. l. 22–27 p. 444.).

³⁰³ *Mahābhārata* 3.115.7–117.15; *Agni-purāṇa* 4.12–19; *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* 9.15.16–16.27; *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 2.26.7–47.92; *Narasimha-purāṇa* 46.1–43.

³⁰⁴ SHAFER 1954: 20.

³⁰⁵ *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* 9.8.1–7; *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 2.48.1–49.65, 2.63.121–142; *Brahma-purāṇa* 8.33–52; *Harivaṃśa* 10.30–46; *Nārada-purāṇa* 1.8.1–65; *Vāmana-purāṇa* 4.3.17–33.

demonic form and their initial friction with the Bhārgavas transformed into the cosmic combat of Good and Evil.³⁰⁶

Although there were, thus, serious efforts to defame them completely, we still have numerous references to their former greatness. Among others, Paraśurāma's dreadful enemy, Kārtavīrya Arjuna conquered the entire Earth triumphantly.³⁰⁷ He imprisoned the terrible *rākṣasa* king, Rāvaṇa³⁰⁸ and his renown, in this way, grew so high that the great heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, such as Arjuna³⁰⁹ and Karṇa,³¹⁰ were compared to him.

Apart from the mythological references, there are some historical materials illuminating Kārtavīrya's righteous qualities. The rulers of the Kalacuri dynasty, for example, regarded themselves as the immediate successor of the Haihayas. Although this claim first occurred in the Cālukya records (seventh-eighth century), later the Kalacuri rulers also adopted it proudly.³¹¹ There are, on the other hand, some religious texts (mostly collected in the digest called *Kārtavīryopāśanādhyāya*), which bear out the presence of the religious honour of Kārtavīrya Arjuna.³¹² Beyond the written materials, the temples dedicated to Sāsabāhu (like in Nāgdā, Gvāliyar) possibly retain the reminiscences of this cult. Although their deity is habitually identified with Viṣṇu, the name of Sāsabāhu, in all likelihood, was derived from the Sanskrit Sahasrabāhu (thousand-armed)³¹³ which is the most common epithet of Kārtavīrya Arjuna.³¹⁴

Kālidāsa, who was familiar with the mythological tradition, remembered well these virtues, too. Although he did not make reference to the Haihayas in the *digvijaya* description, he included them elsewhere in his work. The offspring of the dynasty as the lord of Māhiṣmatī (modern Maheśvar or Mandhātā)³¹⁵ represents the region at Indumatī's

³⁰⁶ GAIL 1978: 152.

³⁰⁷ *Harivaṃśa* 23.144–150.

³⁰⁸ *Harivaṃśa* 23.150.*396:10–29; *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.31.1–33.23.

³⁰⁹ *Mahābhārata* 1.114.29, 3.142.19, 5.59.19, 5.88.29. – Perhaps their resemblance was not fully occasional. According to the *Harivaṃśa*, Kārtavīrya Arjuna lost his welfare due to the curse of Vasiṣṭha (Āpava). As a result of this malediction it was the Pāṇḍava Arjuna, who fell heir to the fruits of those good *karmas* which were previously heaped up by Kārtavīrya (*Harivaṃśa* 23.151–153). Furthermore, both of the heroes were famous about their friendly relationship with the fire god. The Khāṇḍava forest by Arjuna (*Mahābhārata* 1.214.29–220.32), while Āpava's *āśrama* by Kārtavīrya (*Mahābhārata* 12.49.30–37) was offered to Agni for consuming.

³¹⁰ *Mahābhārata* 8.4.52.ef, 8.22.13.cd.

³¹¹ MIRASHI 1955: xlv.

³¹² TRIPATHI 1979: 41–42.

³¹³ TRIPATHI 1979: 49.

³¹⁴ It is generally thought that Kārtavīrya Arjuna received these thousand arms as prize for his asceticism from Datta (Dattātreyā). (*Harivaṃśa* 23.139–140; *Mahābhārata* 2.66.12.d*39.29–32).

³¹⁵ DEY 1979: 120.

svayaṃvara.³¹⁶ In the introduction of this monarch Kālidāsa of course paid tribute to Kārtavīrya Arjuna as the legendary forefather of the state:

<Sunandā Indumatīm uvāca>
 saṅgrāma-nirvṛtta-sahasra-bāhur aṣṭādaśa-dvīpa-nikhāta-yūpaḥ|
 an-anya-sādhāraṇa-rāja-śabdo babhūva yogī kila Kārtavīryaḥ||
 a-kārya-cintā-sama-kālam eva prādur-bhavaṃś cāpa-dharaḥ purastāt|
 antaḥ-śarīreṣv api yaḥ prajānāṃ pratyādides'ā-vinayaṃ vinetā||
 jyā-bandha-niḥspanda-bhujena yasya viniḥśvasad-vaktra-parampareṇa|
 kārā-grhe nirjita-Vāsavena Daśānanen'ṛṣitam ā-prasādāt||³¹⁷

It is reported that in former times there was a *yogin* by name Kārtavīrya who showed a thousand arms in many of his fights who had fixed sacrificial posts in eighteen continents and whose title of “*rāja*” was not common to other kings. (transl. with modifications)

The very moment that any evil desire entered into the inner organs (minds) of his subjects, this chastiser presenting himself before them, bow in hand, prevented them from doing those immure actions.

In his (Kārtavīrya's) prison stayed the lord of Laṅkā [Rāvaṇa], who had vanquished by Vāsava, whose arms were made motionless being bound up by bow-strings and consequently whose row of mouths was breathing hard, until he was favourably disposed to release him.³¹⁸

The former Haihaya king is first glorified as the conqueror of the whole world,³¹⁹ to which Rāvaṇa's incarceration³²⁰ and his virtuous sovereignty are added, but the Paraśu-rāma affair is omitted.

³¹⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 6.37–44.

³¹⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 6.38–40.

³¹⁸ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 170–171 – Nandargikar translates the first *pāda* of the first verse as follows: “who showed, as it were, a thousand arms in many of his fights”.

³¹⁹ Kālidāsa's first verse of Kārtavīrya is apparently a poetic summary about the eulogy of the *Harivamśa* (23.144–150•). It seems that Kālidāsa's choice of words deliberately alludes to the epic. Among others both sources designate the Haihaya king as *yogī* (*Harivamśa* 23.150.d) and report the *yūpas* (sacrificial stake) set up on each of the *dvīpas* (division of the world). A little difference is, however, that Kālidāsa speaks about eighteen *dvīpas* instead of the usual seven, which is explained as a lyric assertion (*atīśayokti*) by Vallabhadeva.

³²⁰ Rāvaṇa's imprisonment is a well known episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (7.31.1–33.23). The evil king of Laṅkā erected a *liṅga* for Śiva on the bank of the Narmadā, but it decayed because of Kārtavīrya's frolicking in water. The displeased demon attacked, therefore, the Haihaya ruler, but he was defeated and became incarcerated until he was released by Pulastya's request. Perhaps, the rivalry of the two main branches of sectarian Hinduism (*Śaivism*, *Vaiṣṇavism*) is also perceivable behind the story. Rāvaṇa behaved as a good Śaiva devotee, whose sacred idol was disgraced. Although Kārtavīrya was subjugated by a Viṣṇu-*avatāra*, it seems that his figure, in the beginning, belonged closely to the deity. According

After this eulogy, Kālidāsa makes us acquainted with the actual, attending king:

<Sunandā Indumatīm uvāca>
 <Kārtavīryasya> tasy'ānvaye bhū-patir eṣa jātaḥ Pradīpa ity āgama-vṛddha-sevī|
 yena śrīyaḥ saṁśraya-doṣa-rūḍhaṁ sva-bhāva-lol'ēty a-yaśaḥ pramṛṣtam||³²¹

And this king named Pratīpa [Pradīpa] was born in Kārtavīrya's line, who is known for his reverential regard for profoundly learned men, and who has wiped off the stain of the Goddess of fortune as being naturally fickle – the stain that arises from the faults of those to whom she is firmly attached.³²²

Each of the commentators interpreted the word *pradīpa* (or *pratīpa* in the southern versions) as proper name of this ruler. This explanation was implied by the particle *iti* occurring just after the noun. Since no Haihaya ruler is found by this appellation, it seems that Kālidāsa joined the prestigious lineage to his fictional king.³²³ The name *pradīpa* (lamp), therefore, can be also symbolical. Although to associate a royal person with a lamp is not unusual in Kālidāsa's poetry,³²⁴ it has special relevance here, since the kings of Māhiṣmatī were famous about their friendship with Agni (Fire). Their connection, in this way, seems to be as close as that of a lamp with its fire:

<Sunandā Indumatīm uvāca>
 āyodhane kṛṣṇa-gatiṁ sabhāyam avāpya yaḥ <Pradīpaḥ> kṣatriya-kāla-rātrim|
 dhārāṁ sītāṁ Rāma-paraśvadhāsyā sambhāvayaty utpala-pattra-sārām||³²⁵

He, it is reported, obtained the God of fire (*lit.* he who leaves a dark track behind him) for his ally in war affairs, and thus looked down upon the sharp edge of Rāma's axe, the destruction-night of the *kṣatriya* race, as having the strength of a smooth lotus-leaf.³²⁶

Agni's everlasting presence in the Haihaya capital is, on the other hand, known from the *Mahābhārata*.³²⁷ The epic attributes it to a concrete king of the Ikṣvāku-house

to some traditions, he was also honoured as Viṣṇu's incarnation. (TRIPATHI 1979: 41.) Unlike him, Paraśurāma may originally have been a more Śaiva figure. (GAIL 1978: 152.) It is worth to add here that Paraśurāma and Rāvaṇa were known as friends in some traditions. (DEJENNE 2011: 103.).

³²¹ *Raghuvamśa* 6.41.

³²² NANDARGIKAR 1971: 171–172.

³²³ MUNSHI 1922: 219.

³²⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 6.74, 7.29, 10.69.

³²⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 6.42.

³²⁶ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 172.

³²⁷ As stated by the *Mahābhārata* (13.2.12–36), Agni fell in love with Nīla's daughter, Sudarśanā who was born from the Narmadā river. The fire-god wanted to marry the maiden, but her father not recognising the deity refused his request. To revenge this spurn, the Fire disappeared completely from

called Nīla or Duryodhana (not identical with Dhṛtarāṣṭra's son),³²⁸ and states that the protecting service of the fire god was exclusively owned by Nīla's family.³²⁹ In the *Ra-ghuvaṃśa* as well as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,³³⁰ however, the Haihayas appearing as lords of Māhiṣmatī, apparently, inherited the good relationship with Agni.

Concerning its location, Anūpa is more or less identical with South-Mālvā.³³¹ The first remarkable relics from this territory are several copper coins from the third century issued by a king called Sagamānamahasa.³³² According to Mirashi, this ruler was none other than the Śakamāna of the *purāṇas*, where he usually appears as the lord of Māhiṣmatī.³³³ This Śakamāna could be, on the other hand, the founder of that Śaka lineage, from which Śrīdharavarman, the later Śaka king of Anūpa derived himself in the fourth century.³³⁴ Mirashi, in addition, claimed that he may have been identical with the Śaka chief subjugated by Samudra Gupta,³³⁵ who, as a supposed vassal of the Guptas, may have been a significant supporter of Hinduism.³³⁶ This also means that the grouping of Anūpa among the civilised countries is established historically. It would be, nevertheless, difficult to speak about these two countries separately, because the people of the neighbouring Aparānta derive themselves from Paraśurāma, whose figure closely connects these regions to each other.

According to the local tradition, Paraśurāma received Aparānta as a donation from the ocean after his ultimate campaign, because of which it is also famous as Paraśurāma-kṣetra (Paraśurāma's field).³³⁷ The story about it was narrated in many forms,³³⁸ and it was so popular that even the inhabitants of Kerala adopted it as their own origin-

the sacrifices in the whole kingdom. In this difficulty, the *brāhmaṇas* informed their lord about his fault, who gave, therefore, his daughter to the deity, with the proviso that he would be present in Māhiṣmatī forever. Since then, the town has been known as the place where Agni is eternally present, about which even the *Digvijayaparvan* commemorates. (*Mahābhārata* 2.28.11–37).

³²⁸ *Mahābhārata* 13.2.5–12.

³²⁹ *Mahābhārata* 2.28.34.ad•.

³³⁰ *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.31.7.cd•.

³³¹ DEY 1979: 8.

³³² MIRASHI 1946: 35.

³³³ As a matter of fact, he is mentioned under several names such as Śakyamāna, Sākṣonāmān, Śaṅkanamo, etc. in the *purāṇas*. Pargiter preferred the very first one in his *purāṇa* edition of the historical dynasties: *Śakyamān 'ābhavad rājā Mahiṣīnām mahi-patiḥ* (PARGITER 1913: 51.) – However, his choice seems fairly unreasonable and it was refuted by Mirashi, who reconstructed the name as Śakamāna being a more obvious counterpart of the Prākṛit Sagamāna. (MIRASHI 1946: 36.).

³³⁴ MIRASHI 1946: 39.

³³⁵ MIRASHI 1946: 40; 1955: xxxviii.

³³⁶ MIRASHI 1946: 41; 1955: xxxix.

³³⁷ DEY 1979: 149.

³³⁸ *Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa* 2.56.2–58.37; *Harivaṃśa* App. I. No. 18. 316–319 p. 89; *Mahābhārata* 12.49.56–59; *Skanda-purāṇa Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* 2.7.1–29.

myth.³³⁹ Thus, in these days, almost the whole West-Indian coast up to Cape Comorin honours the Brahmin warrior as its ancestor. The widespread expansion of the story, on the other hand, was probably the result of its subject, which is in actual fact *Āryanization*. Paraśurāma not only created the territory but also colonised it. In this way, the myth explains how *brāhmaṇical* society was actually established in the region.

To examine this theme, the collection of the local legends, namely the *Sahyādrī-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-purāṇa* is the most crucial source. Although this corpus is definitely late, it contains elements which allow us to infer a characteristic non-Āryan presence. Because there were originally no *brāhmaṇas* in the newly born country, Paraśurāma requested them to inhabit it. They, nevertheless, refused the invitation. This humiliation urged the Bhārgava hero to create his own priestly order for himself. In this way, he transformed the fishermen (*kaivartaka*), whom he met on the seaside, into Brahmins.³⁴⁰ This group is known as Citpāvanas, because they were purified at a pyre (*citāsthāna*),³⁴¹ since fishermen are usually regarded as an impure caste in India. These *brāhmaṇas* not only form a despised group inside the *brāhmaṇical* order, but their distinguished position in the local society could also reflect negatively on the whole region. The disdain for the Citpāvanas is more emphatic in another version of the legend, according to which they were generated from dead bodies.³⁴² In this way, the fact that this prejudice against them had been alive for so long indicates that the process of *Āryanization* took place here much later than in the interior area. Furthermore, there are some other *purāṇas* which contain similar references to the low status of Aparānta. The *Brahma-purāṇa*, for example, lists the country among those places where the *śrāddha* ceremony is not recommended.³⁴³ The *Agni-purāṇa*, on the other hand, forbids the *brāhmaṇas* of Aparānta to do consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*).³⁴⁴

Aside from the mythological sources, historical data correlate more or less well with the ambiguity, which is perceivable in Kālidāsa's account of the southwestern region. After the fall of the reputable Sātavāhana family dated to the third century, numerous small kingdoms appeared in the territory of the former empire.³⁴⁵

In Aparānta, it was Īśvarasena who gained independence from the Sātavāhanas and founded a new realm around the middle of the third century. He belonged to the Ābhīras,

³³⁹ CHARPENTIER 1927: 113; DONALDSON 1995: 171.

³⁴⁰ *Skanda-purāṇa Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* 2.1.22–41.

³⁴¹ *Skanda-purāṇa Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* 2.1.37.

³⁴² DESHPANDE 2010: 39.

³⁴³ *Brahma-purāṇa* 220.8.bd.

³⁴⁴ *Agni-purāṇa* 39.6.

³⁴⁵ KULKE – ROTHERMUND 2002: 97.

an ethnical group which gave its name to his lineage.³⁴⁶ The Ābhīras were, in general, considered as the cowherd community, in which Kṛṣṇa was brought up.³⁴⁷ It is furthermore supposed that they migrated into the Subcontinent together with the Scythians.³⁴⁸ Although they were, therefore, initially listed among the foreigners, they finally became incorporated as *vaiśyas* into the *brāhmaṇical* society, perhaps as a result of their political progress.³⁴⁹ Their outsider ancestry, nevertheless, was kept in mind through the centuries, presumably including Kālidāsa's period. Furthermore, there was also an Ābhīra who was designated as a *mleccha* king even in the tenth century.³⁵⁰

Apart from the Ābhīras, the presence of the Traikūṭakas seems remarkable in the region. Their political power may have arisen in the fifth century.³⁵¹ According to the so-called Traikūṭaka inscriptions, those rulers, about whom we possess some information, both Dahrasena³⁵² and Vyāghrasena³⁵³ supported the *brāhmaṇas* with land tenures. The former one was, moreover, praised as a sponsor of a horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedhāhar-tā*).³⁵⁴ Under their predecessors, though we do not have any certain evidence for their own religious affiliation, Buddhism seems to be dominant due to its catholic world view.³⁵⁵ As maintained by the *Mahāvamsa*, it was a Greek (Yona) called Dhammarakkhita who introduced the new doctrines in Aparānta.³⁵⁶ Besides, there are numerous archaeological remains here which certify the influence of Buddhism.³⁵⁷ From this view, the royal attention paid to the *brāhmaṇical* religion may have been a turning point in local history.

Raghu on Paraśurāma's field

The name Aparānta already caused immediate confusion among the commentators of the *Raghuvamśa*. According to Vallabhadeva, it was identical with Koṅkaṇa,³⁵⁸ which is usually understood as the seashore extending from the modern Sūrat to Goa.³⁵⁹ His

³⁴⁶ MIRASHI 1955: xxxiii.

³⁴⁷ MIRASHI 1955: xxxii.

³⁴⁸ THAPAR 1971: 427.n.

³⁴⁹ MIRASHI 1955: xxxii–xxxiii.

³⁵⁰ THAPAR 1971: 429.

³⁵¹ MIRASHI 1955: xlii.

³⁵² *CII Vol. 4*. No. 8. p. 24.

³⁵³ *CII Vol. 4*. No. 9. p. 27–28.

³⁵⁴ *CII Vol. 4*. No. 8. p. 24. l. 2.

³⁵⁵ MIRASHI 1955: cxlv.

³⁵⁶ *Mahāvamsa* 12.34–36.

³⁵⁷ MIRASHI 1955: cxlvi.

³⁵⁸ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.56.♦.

³⁵⁹ DEY 1979: 149.

explanation seems to be correct because Kālidāsa's verses about Aparānta are, in the same way, placed between the Sahya and the Thār Desert, which approximately correspond to the southern and the northern borders of Koṅkaṇa.

Similarly to the Kashmirian scholar, Vaidyaśrīgarbha understood the word as a proper noun, but he claimed that Kālidāsa's Aparānta corresponded to the territory of the so-called Saptakoṅkaṇa,³⁶⁰ an appellation which was used to signify the whole Malabar Coast.³⁶¹ This view apparently shows the influence of the later period. As we have already seen, the concept of the Paraśurāmakṣetra was gradually adopted by most places of the "Indian West Side". This process could also be responsible for the "multiplication" of Koṅkaṇa.

On the other hand, the word *aparānta* can simply mean "western border" or "end of the West".³⁶² In this way, it is also able to function as synonym for the whole western region. Based on this, the southern commentators³⁶³ and some modern scholars³⁶⁴ supposed that it was not a province, but the entire western area, which was introduced by this word. Although this point of view was probably implied by the inappropriate position of Kerala in the southern recensions, it is not unimaginable that the great poet intentionally played with the double meaning of the word. Because he introduced all the remaining directions by their own names,³⁶⁵ it would be unlikely if the West were not introduced in the same way.

In any case, Kālidāsa's first verse about Aparānta points at his deep familiarity with the local tradition. In accordance with the popular origin myth of Aparānta, Raghu's army is described as if the ocean, formerly removed by Paraśurāma, had returned to the proximity of the Sahya:

<Raghoh> tasy'ānīkair visarpadbhir Aparānta-jay^ôdyataih|
Rām^ê:ûtsārīto 'py āsīt Sahya-lagna iv'ārṇavah||³⁶⁶

³⁶⁰ VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 60.°.

³⁶¹ DEY 1979: 179.

³⁶² MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 50.

³⁶³ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.54.°; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.53.°; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.54.°.

³⁶⁴ CHAKLADAR 1963: 52–53.

³⁶⁵ *paurastyān* (*Raghuvamśa* 4.35.a) *Agastyacaritām āśāṃ* (*Raghuvamśa* 4.46.c) *Kauberīm diśam* (*Raghuvamśa* 4.68.a).

³⁶⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.56.

The sea, though pushed afar by the missiles of Paraśurāma, appeared as if touching the mountain Sahya on account of his extensive army (or moving troops), prepared to conquer the kings of the western coast (the Kauṅkaṇas).³⁶⁷

The presumably earliest reference to this legend is unfolded by the *Mahābhārata*.³⁶⁸ On its quite succinct report, Paraśurāma needed to generate a new land because he did not have any place to inhabit after he offered the entire Earth to Kaśyapa at the end of his conquest.

The story is, in more detail, outlined in the later, *purāṇic* sources. As maintained by the *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, Paraśurāma measured out the boundaries of the new country by throwing his axe into the sea.³⁶⁹

Another version is elaborated by the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*,³⁷⁰ which, as the great systemiser of the Paraśurāma-legend, connects the event with Sagara's sons. The descent of the Ganges increased the ocean, which inundated the western seaside worshipped as a sacred area by the name of Gokaṇḍa. After the catastrophe, the local *brāhmaṇas* fled to Paraśurāma and asked him to regain their former country from the sea. The Bhārgava hero, therefore, fixed the border of the place with his arrow and scooped the water out with a spoon. In this way, it is a significant difference in this version that Aparānta is not regarded as a newly born province, but a very ancient, legendary region.³⁷¹

Following the introductory verse, Kālidāsa employed the method of description which he used in the case of the Malaya. He concentrated not purely on the landscape but on the relation between the country and the several divisions of Raghu's army. Still, the function of these associations seems different here. In the previous scene, Raghu's aggression is merged into the amorous atmosphere of the South, while in this case, the land is submitted to emphasise Raghu's eminence.

In Aparānta, it is the wind that appears as the only considerable challenger for Raghu. First, it vainly scatters the pollen of the *ketakī*-flowers (screw-pine), because it

³⁶⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 110.

³⁶⁸ *Mahābhārata* 12.49.56–59.

³⁶⁹ *Skanda-purāṇa Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* 2.7.1–29.

³⁷⁰ *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 2.56.2–58.37.

³⁷¹ It is a common feature among these origin myths that Aparānta appears by the name of Śūrpāraka. This appellation could initially refer to the ancient capital of Aparānta, which corresponds to the modern Nālā Sopārā (DEY 1979: 197–198) and it is, moreover, used for the country surrounding the centre similarly to many other Sanskrit geographical names. The Indians seemingly attempted to connect the etymology of the name to Paraśurāma's deed, since the verbal root *√śūrp* means to measure something which activity produced the land. The name Śūrpāraka, on the other hand, can be explained as a derivative from *śūrpa*, which means a winnowing basket. (CHARPENTIER 1927: 112.) Furthermore, there is a version of the legend where Paraśurāma threw such a basket into the sea. (CHARPENTIER 1927: 114–115).

transforms without any efforts into the aromatic powder on the armour of Raghu's soldiers:

*puro yan mārut^ôddhūtam agamat kaitakaṃ rajah|
tad yodha-vāra-vāṇānām a-yatna-paṭa-vāsātām||*³⁷²

The pollen of *ketaka* flowers, wafted by the wind before him, attained to the condition (discharged the function) of a vesture-perfumer, secured without effort, for (unto) the armour of his soldiers. (transl. with modifications)³⁷³

The image of the breeze mixed with the fragrance of the *ketakī* flowers is incidentally a conventional topos in Sanskrit literature,³⁷⁴ which already occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.³⁷⁵

To this, Kālidāsa adds his outstanding botanical knowledge, too. The *ketakī* tree is in fact among the essential commodities of Indian perfumery.³⁷⁶ This feature is highlighted by Kālidāsa as well. Furthermore, the description of its floating pollen might be based on his thorough observation because the *ketakī*-blossoms are actually abundant in powder. It is so true that the plant is characterised as *dhūli-puspikā*, “having dust-flowers” in *Āyurvedic* literature.³⁷⁷

Beside the meaning of the verse, there are a great deal of variant readings in the first *pāda*. In all versions, excepting the Kashmirian, there are several versions of the toponym: Marulā,³⁷⁸ Muralā³⁷⁹ and Muracī,³⁸⁰ which denotes the place, from where the wind originates. Among these versions, the reading Muralā seems to be the most proper. This view was followed by Nando Lal Dey, who, on the basis of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*,³⁸¹ claimed that this was a synonym for the Narmadā.³⁸² His view is slightly supported by a verse of the *Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha*, in which the Vindhya and the Muralā occur together³⁸³ and it is difficult to imagine any other river than the Narmadā, which

³⁷² *Raghuvamśa* 4.57.

³⁷³ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 111. – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *Marulā* instead of *puro yan* in the first *pāda*, and translates it as follows: “The pollen of *ketaka* flowers, wafted by the breezes of the Marulā...”.

³⁷⁴ *Harṣacarita* 8. p. 333. l. 7–8•; *Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha* 6772.•.

³⁷⁵ *Rāmāyaṇa* 4.27.8–9, 4.27.25.•.

³⁷⁶ DYMCK – HOOPER – WARDEN 1893: 537.

³⁷⁷ *Rājanighaṇṭu* 10.67.ab•.

³⁷⁸ HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.58; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.55.

³⁷⁹ JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60; ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 81.°; VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 60.°.

³⁸⁰ ARUNĀGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.55; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.55.

³⁸¹ *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* 1.10.24.•.

³⁸² DEY 1979: 134.

³⁸³ *Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha* 5277.ab•.

can be mentioned as such a close neighbour of that range. It is, moreover, true that we would really lack the celebrated local river if it were ignored. However, Mirashi proposed another, perhaps more appropriate identification and called attention to Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*, in which the personified Muralā certainly appears as a tributary of the Godāvarī.³⁸⁴ In this way, Mirashi reached the conclusion that the river was probably identical with the modern Muḷā of Mahārāṣṭra.³⁸⁵

It is worth paying a bit more attention to the Kashmirian version of this verse. Its unique reading does not seem as trustworthy as usual since to prefer *puro yan* in place of the geographical designation indicates that the original word as an unknown location might have been substituted by these expletives.³⁸⁶

The same verse, on the other hand, reports that the sound of Raghu's horses and chariots surpass the noise generated by the wind shaking the *rāja-tālī*-trees:

abhyabhūyata vāhānām rathānām c'āśya <Raghoḥ> śiñjitaiḥ|
*marmaraḥ pavan^ôddhūta-rāja-tālī-vana-dhvanīḥ||*³⁸⁷

The murmuring sounds of the *rājatālī* forests, shaken by the breeze, were drowned by the tinkling of his horses and his chariots. (transl. with modifications)³⁸⁸

The commentators remained surprisingly tight-lipped about the *rāja-tālī*-trees, though they do not occur so many times in the Sanskrit literature. Among them, only Vallabhadeva shows a little awareness, who added that the *tālī* had two major types, namely the *rāja*- and the *khara-tālī*.³⁸⁹ As we have already seen, the *tālī*-tree (without any label) is a recurrent feature of the descriptions of the Indian coast.³⁹⁰ After its dark colour has already been mentioned in the description of East-India, Kālidāsa now shows another feature of it, specifically the noise of the quivering *tālīs* (*marmara*). Because the murmur characterises not only the *rāja-tālīs* but each of the other *tālī*-species also,³⁹¹ it should be considered whether the label *rāja*- contains any additional information. The compound *rāja-tālī* as a *rūpaka* (metaphor), in any case, provides the opportunity to be understood as a *śleṣa*. In this way, I do not regard it completely unbelievable that the

³⁸⁴ *Uttararāmacarita* 3. (interlude) p. 67.

³⁸⁵ MIRASHI 1968: 199.

³⁸⁶ GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: 355.

³⁸⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 4.58.

³⁸⁸ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 111. – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *caratām gātra-śiñjitaiḥ varma-bhiḥ* instead of *rathānām c'āśya śiñjitaiḥ* in the first line, and translates it as follows: "The sounds...were quite drowned by the jinglings of the armours, (which were) on the bodies of the horses strutting along."

³⁸⁹ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.58.●.

³⁹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 4.35. (See p. 26.).

³⁹¹ *Raghuvamśa* 6.57. (See p. 36.).

whole compound (*pavan^ôddhūta-rāja-tālī-vana-dhvaniḥ*) has the following secondary meaning: the sound of the multitude of the *rājas*, who look like the *tālī*-trees, and who are agitated because of the “Purifier” or “purification”. However, it would be quite surprising if Kālidāsa had intentionally composed this trope because he, together with his contemporaries, shows less interest in the composition of complex *śleṣas*.³⁹²

Moreover, there are some other views, according to which the *rāja-tālī* does not signify a *tālī*-species but a completely distinct plant. This way of interpretation was followed by the widely used Sanskrit dictionaries, namely the Grosses Petersburger Wörterbuch³⁹³ as well as its little brother, the Monier-Williams Sanskrit–English Dictionary.³⁹⁴ Based on the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*,³⁹⁵ they claimed that it was identical with the betelnut tree, which already occurred in the illustration of the South.

Furthermore, there emerges a third solution, which takes into consideration the individual phrase of the poet. There is a plant which appears regularly in *Āyurvedic* literature by the name of *tāl^īśa*³⁹⁶ (equivalent to Indian coffee plum, *Flacourtia cataphracta*).³⁹⁷ Because this appellation means the lord of *tālīs*, Kālidāsa’s *rāja-tālī* could be explained as its synonym.

Finally, the description of Aparānta is completed by Raghu’s elephants fastened to the *kharjūrī*-trees (wild date palm):

kharjūrī-skandha-naddhānām mad^ôdgāra-su-gandhiṣu|
*kaṭeṣu karinām petuḥ punnāgebhyaḥ śilīmukhāḥ||*³⁹⁸

The sting mouthed black bees fell from the *punnāga* flowers on the temples which were fragrant on account of the emission of ichor of elephants that were tied to the trunks of *kharjūra* trees.³⁹⁹

The *kharjūrī*-trees belong to the typical flora of Northwest–India, especially of the modern Sindh.⁴⁰⁰ Thus, their occurrence correlates well with the historical fact, according to which the power of the rulers of Aparānta expanded to the southern edge of the desert area.⁴⁰¹ Although the mention of the date palms is a valuable information about the geographical character of the country, they remain only supplemental elements of

³⁹² BRONNER 2010: 20.

³⁹³ BÖHTLINGK – ROTH 1871: 316.

³⁹⁴ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 873.

³⁹⁵ *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* 2.4.41.●.

³⁹⁶ *Aṣṭāṅganighaṇṭu* 285; *Ānandakanda* 1.16.27; *Bhāvaṇaprakāśa* 2.114; *Rasendracintāmaṇi* 8.243.

³⁹⁷ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 445.

³⁹⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 4.59.

³⁹⁹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 112.

⁴⁰⁰ CHAKLADAR 1963: 52.

⁴⁰¹ MIRASHI 1955: xli.

the composition, which is, similarly to the previous ones, subordinated to the demonstration of Raghu's excellence.

In this case, the bees leave the *punnāga*-flowers, because the fragrance of the war elephants in rut smells even more attractive. It does not seem to be a simple coincidence that it is the elephants that are associated with these plants, since the literal meaning of their name, "man-elephant", can easily call these animals to mind. Thus, they appear as the "elephants" of the country, which are surpassed by Raghu's elephants.

After the description of the features of Aparānta, Kālidāsa returns to the local origin myth to conclude the account:

avakāśam kil'ōdanvān Rāmāy'ābh્યarthito dadau|
*Aparānta-mahī-pāla-vyājena Raghava karam||*⁴⁰²

Being pressed, it is said, did the ocean give space to (make room for) Rāma; to Raghu he paid tribute under the disguise of the princes of the western coast.⁴⁰³

In this manner, the legend apparently serves as the frame of the portrait. The arrival of the soldiers in the beginning recalls the former, mythological state of the area, while Raghu manifests himself in Paraśurāma's role at the end of the description and leads away his sea-like troops after the victorious war. According to this poetic picture, it was the Brahmin warrior who previously received land, and now Raghu, occupying, Paraśurāma's former place, obtains tax as donation from the Ocean. The further explanation of this verse is, nevertheless, a bit controversial.

The disagreement among the commentators is mainly caused by their different opinions about the determination of the figure of speech used by Kālidāsa. The Keralan commentators understood it as a simple distinction (*vyatireka*). Both Paraśurāma and Raghu received something from the sea, but in different manners: Paraśurāma just asked for it, while Raghu resorted to force.⁴⁰⁴ Vallabhadeva also explained it in a similar way, but he considered the reason of the dissimilarity to be the unlike donations of the ocean.⁴⁰⁵

Others, such as Mallinātha and the Nepalese scholars, apparently understood it as hyperbole (*atiśayokti*). As claimed by them, Raghu surpassed the Bhārgava because the

⁴⁰² *Raghuvamśa* 4.60.

⁴⁰³ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 112.

⁴⁰⁴ ARUNAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.57.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.57.●.

⁴⁰⁵ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.●.

Ocean rewarded him without request.⁴⁰⁶ Lastly, Hemādri and Jinasamudra took it as *utprekṣā* and declared that Rāma's deed equalled Paraśurāma's.⁴⁰⁷

Besides, there is an additional, though slighter disagreement about the interpretation of the word *Aparānta-mahīpāla-vyāja*. As maintained by Mallinātha, this compound expresses only the manner, by which the ocean pays tax to Raghu. Thus, its tribute is paid through the defeated king of Aparānta.⁴⁰⁸ Vallabhadeva, on the other hand, gave a bit more detailed description about this process. He regarded the pearls, seashells, etc. on the diadem of the defeated Aparānta king as the payment of the ocean.⁴⁰⁹ Another view is shared by Hemādri and the Keralan scholars, the essence of whose explanation is that the word *vyāja* often means appearance. In this way, they asserted that the ocean manifested itself in the form of the king of Aparānta to be able to bestow its gift.⁴¹⁰

In any case, most of the commentators agree that Kālidāsa somehow draws a parallel between Raghu and Paraśurāma. The only exception, who has a different opinion, is again Vallabhadeva. According to his distinctive explanation, the second Rāma-simile does not allude to Paraśurāma but to Rāma Dāśarathi, and the verse evokes thus his famous bridgework (*setubandha*) to Laṅkā.⁴¹¹ As we read in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma indeed asked permission from the sea for building the *setu*. Because the personified ocean initially ignored him, Rāma compelled it to take notice of him.⁴¹² This narrative is incidentally much the same as that which is used by the above discussed Aparānta-myth of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*.⁴¹³ According to it, Paraśurāma also employed force against the ocean, because it did not pay attention to him.

After all, it is necessary to investigate how the idea came to Vallabhadeva to locate Rāma's dam (normally associated with Adam's bridge)⁴¹⁴ in Aparānta. He, on the one hand, has already certified his familiarity with the origin myth of Aparānta in his commentary on the first Rāma-simile. Now, he nevertheless found it improbable that Kālidāsa would have alluded to the same legend again in one account.

⁴⁰⁶ MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.58.♦; ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 81.†♦; VAIDYĀŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 61.†♦.

⁴⁰⁷ HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.61.♦; JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.63.♦.

⁴⁰⁸ MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.58.♦.

⁴⁰⁹ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.♦.

⁴¹⁰ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.57.♦; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.57.♦.

⁴¹¹ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.♦ – As a matter of fact, Vallabhadeva's distinct interpretation is also incorporated in Hemādri's eclectic commentary. (HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.61.♦).

⁴¹² *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.13.11–15.9.

⁴¹³ *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 2.57.25–58.7.

⁴¹⁴ DEY 1979: 184.

His peculiar explanation was, on the other hand, likely inspired by the ensuing verse in which the other emblematic mountain of the region, the Trikūṭa occurs:

mah^hēbha-radan^hōtkīrṇa-vyakta-vikrama-lakṣaṇam|
*Trikūṭam eva tatr'ōccair jaya-stambham cakāra saḥ <Raghuh>||*⁴¹⁵

There he made the Trikūṭa itself his lofty pillar of victory, – the Trikūṭa where the incision of the tusks of his big elephants were a clear record of his prowess. (transl. with modifications)⁴¹⁶

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāvaṇa's home, Laṅkā was situated on its top.⁴¹⁷ However, their opposing localities was problem for both the Hindu and the modern interpreters.

In this way, even the mythological tradition has elaborated its own solution. According to it, the Trikūṭa is really situated in North India, but one piece of it was broken up and dropped in the southern sea by Vāyu.⁴¹⁸

The apparent contradiction was, on the other hand, realised by the modern scholarship. There were, thus, quite a few scholars, who have doubted rightly that Laṅkā had originally been identical with modern Ceylon.

Among them it was Hermann Jacobi, who firstly cast aside the traditional view.⁴¹⁹ He, moreover, attempted to localise Rāvaṇa's capital in Assam, though he later revoked this theory after he became acquainted with Kibe's more impressive hypothesis.⁴²⁰

Another imaginative theory is ascribed to Vader, who associated Rāvaṇa's home with the Maldives.⁴²¹ He made serious efforts to collect all those arguments which verified the impossibility of the traditional identification with the modern Ceylon.⁴²² His conclusion was, however, less persuasive, since he based his presumption purely on the *Vāyupurāṇa* (48.26–30), which suggested that Laṅkā was found to the west of the Peninsula.⁴²³ It was Ramadas who pointed out its weakness and showed that the *Vāyupurāṇa*-quotation used by Vader stated that there was a Śiva temple on the sacred field

⁴¹⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 4.61.

⁴¹⁶ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 112. – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *mad^o* instead of *mah^h* in the first *pāda*, and translates it as follows: "...the tusks of his infuriated elephants...".

⁴¹⁷ *Rāmāyaṇa* 5.2.1, 6.2.10, 6.30.18–20, 6.111.3, 7.5.21–22, 7.6.14.

⁴¹⁸ MANI 1984: 793.

⁴¹⁹ JACOBI 1893: 90–93.

⁴²⁰ VADER 1926: 345.

⁴²¹ VADER 1926: 348.

⁴²² VADER 1926: 345–347.

⁴²³ VADER 1926: 348.

by the name of Gokarṇa to the east of Laṅkā,⁴²⁴ which is really difficult to be upheld in the case of the Maldives.⁴²⁵

After all, the most accepted alternative of the conventional view was elaborated by the above mentioned Kibe, who published a series of studies about the topic.⁴²⁶ The strong point of his proposition is that he bears in mind that basic information of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, according to which Laṅkā was built on the top of the Trikūṭa.⁴²⁷ Thus, the identification of Rāvaṇa's palace and that of the mountain becomes the one question in his works.

Kibe, therefore, located his Laṅkā in the Amarakaṇṭaka Mountain. Since there are indeed three peaks called *kūṭas* (Āmrakūṭa, Śālakūṭa and Madhūkūṭa), the place conforms fairly well to the "Trikūṭa"-appellation.⁴²⁸ As a further step, he referred to a regional population, which was known as Rāvaṇavaṃśī.⁴²⁹ Besides, Ramadas, who was a great advocate of Kibe's theory, used the *Revākhaṇḍa* of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* to confirm this location.⁴³⁰ As maintained by this text, the Narmadā was known as Traikūṭī because it emerged from the Trikūṭa, and its spring is also found in the Amarakaṇṭaka.

Although Kibe's supposition seems quite sustainable, it is not without doubts. First, Ramadas's *purāṇa*-citation is slightly obscure, cosmogonic passage. According to it, the Narmadā really arose from the first peak of the Trikūṭa, but Ramadas missed to mention that the second peak was described as the source of the Ganges, and the third one as that of the seven principal mountain-ranges (*kulaparvata*). Thus, we should accept that this Trikūṭa of the *purāṇa* is rather an imaginary than a real geographical place, otherwise we ought to find the fount of the Ganges as well in Amarakaṇṭaka.

The presence of the Rāvaṇavaṃśī people is likewise not as strong evidence as Kibe presented. The Rāvaṇavaṃśī appellation was, in fact, used to signify the common people among the Gonds.⁴³¹ However, this tribal community is not restricted to Amarakaṇṭaka, but its groups are found almost everywhere in the Central-Indian ranges.⁴³²

Apart from these smaller objections, the real Achilles' heel of the hypothesis is the want of the ocean. The problem, of course, was not unknown for Kibe and his

⁴²⁴ *Vāyu-purāṇa* 48.30•.

⁴²⁵ RAMADAS 1928: 339.

⁴²⁶ KIBE 1928; 1935–1936; 1947.

⁴²⁷ KIBE 1928: 701.

⁴²⁸ KIBE 1928: 701.

⁴²⁹ KIBE 1928: 701.

⁴³⁰ *Vāyu-purāṇa Revākhaṇḍa* 6.13–18•.

⁴³¹ MEYER – BURN – COTTON – RISLEY 1908: 323.

⁴³² MEYER – BURN – COTTON – RISLEY 1908: 321.

followers, who attempted to certify that the word *sāgara* could mean lake⁴³³ or reservoir⁴³⁴ in this case. However, it is difficult to imagine that any pond could correspond to the *sāgara*-illustrations of the epic, which described the sea, among others, as Varuṇa's imperturbable home.⁴³⁵

On the other hand, the archaeological findings likewise question Kibe's assumption because the remains of the historical Traikūṭakas were found in South-Gujarāt, North-Koṅkaṇ, and Mahārāṣṭra, each of which is quite far from Amaraṇṭaka. Furthermore, Kālidāsa's description also supports that Trikūṭa should have been situated somewhere in Aparānta.⁴³⁶ In this way, it is another identification assigned to Bhagvanlal Indraji, which became prevalent among the historians. As stated by him, Trikūṭa correlates with modern Junnar, which is, incidentally, enclosed by three ranges.⁴³⁷

Indraji's theory being based purely on historical and geographical data does not take any notice of the connection between Trikūṭa and Laṅkā. However, in the light of Vallabhadeva's commentary, it seems that one of the islands situated close to the seashore of Aparānta may have sometimes been identified as an alternative for Rāvaṇa's home.

Vader referred to the *Vāyu-purāṇa*,⁴³⁸ according to which Laṅkā was found to the west of the Subcontinent. The *Revākhaṇḍa*⁴³⁹ quoted by Raghavan, moreover, stated that Rāvaṇa's capital was next to a sacred place called Gokaṇṭha. This name was evidently used for Aparānta as we have already seen in the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*.⁴⁴⁰ There are a number of smaller islands in the neighbourhood of north-western seaside, among which any could be identical with Rāvaṇa's former kingdom.

The Kashmirian commentary, in this way, alludes to a possibly earlier tradition about the position of the epic Laṅkā. However, it does not imply that Kālidāsa himself would also identify it at Aparānta. As a matter of fact, his Laṅkā-concept is quite difficult to determine because Kālidāsa adopted the geography of the *Rāmāyaṇa* completely in his own Rāma-tale.⁴⁴¹

Eventually, as the scene was introduced by a mountain, it is concluded by another one. The presence of the Trikūṭa in the last verse of Aparānta, therefore, emphasises the framed structure of the description.

⁴³³ KIBE 1928: 701.

⁴³⁴ RAMADAS 1928: 344.

⁴³⁵ *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.13.11.cd.

⁴³⁶ MIRASHI 1955: xli.

⁴³⁷ INDRAJI 1896: 57.

⁴³⁸ *Vāyu-purāṇa* 48.30.

⁴³⁹ *Vāyu-purāṇa Revākhaṇḍa* 6.13–18.

⁴⁴⁰ *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 2.56.7, 2.56.56, 2.57.12, 2.58.3–4.

⁴⁴¹ RUBEN 1957: 577–589.

On the other hand, its occurrence can be also explained as an intentional allusion to the presumably contemporary Traikūṭaka dynasty.⁴⁴² The Trikūṭa is imagined as a victory column, on which the memory of Raghu's deed is engraved by the tusks of his elephants. Thus, the emblematic mountain becomes the symbol of the triumph over Aparānta.

PERSIA

After the southwestern part of Paścimadeśa, Raghu's campaign continues in the Great Indian or Thār Desert. In connection with the area, though there are two ethnical groups mentioned, namely the Yavanas and the Pārasīkas, it is not unlikely that both of them allude to the same population.

The former name is undisputedly a fitting conversion of the former, Anatolian Greek self-designation that is Ἴωνες. This word had probably spread before the first contact with them, since the Greeks were already known under the name of Ἑλληνες, when Alexander's invasion reached the Subcontinent. Therefore, a plausible transmitter should be found between the two cultures, for which role Achaemenid Persia seems to be the most appropriate. This state really had deep personal awareness of the Ionians. The original word was adopted by the Old Persian-speakers in their inscriptions as *yauna*, the usage of which spread in the Middle-Indic form *yona* on the Peninsula. In this way, Sanskrit *yavana* was probably derived from this Prākṛit term as a result of a presumed hypersanskritisation.⁴⁴³

Although the word originally conveyed explicitly the Greeks or other Hellenised communities, it gradually lost its initial sense and became a common noun to denote foreign people in general. Thus, the relevant question remains whether Kālidāsa alluded to a Greek community or used the word as a simple synonym for the later Pārasīkas.

The former view was maintained by Sircar, who, moreover, assumed that the original meaning of the word may have been alive even in the sixth century A. D.⁴⁴⁴ when, according to him, a separate Greek realm existed somewhere in the Lower Indus Valley which could be described shortly before Raghu's attack on Persia.⁴⁴⁵ Apart from the actual verse of the *Raghuvamśa*, he quoted the *Mudrārākṣasa*⁴⁴⁶ and the *Pādatāḍitaka*⁴⁴⁷ as the latest sources to establish his view.

⁴⁴² MIRASHI 1955: xli.

⁴⁴³ TÖTTÖSSY 1977: 129–130.

⁴⁴⁴ SIRCAR 1959: 73.

⁴⁴⁵ SIRCAR 1971a: 234–235.

⁴⁴⁶ *Mudrārākṣasa* p. 124. l. 6–7•.

⁴⁴⁷ *Pādatāḍitaka* 1.64. p. 30.•.

Both of these theatrical works contain such *dvandva*-compounds in which the Yavanas and the Pārasīkas indeed appear separately. Still, I do not feel these allusions sufficient enough to infer distinguished as well as contemporaneous ethnical communities because, in the *dvandva*-compounds, the factual differences among certain components are frequently difficult or even impossible to be recognised. By way of illustration, both elements of the recurrent *daitya-dānavāḥ* compound mean demon, and yet, we have the impression that they initially should have been distinguishable.

Otherwise, the example from the *Pādatāḍitaka* is from a verse and therefore it could be motivated by metrical rules. In this case, the metre (*puṣpitāgrā*) needs to start with five short syllables, which is hard to fulfil if only the names of the north-western ethnicities can be used. Personally, I have not been able to find any other appropriate words as an alternative to the *śaka-yavana* couple, but then I am not a Sanskrit poet.

Although the prose quotation from the *Mudrārākṣasa* cannot be explained by such prescriptions, it does not seem too convincing either, since in his recent exhaustive study about Viśākhadatta's historical drama, Dániel Balogh pointed out that the work represented the contemporary and the past peoples together.⁴⁴⁸ Thus, its authority seems in this case less considerable.

Another difficulty with Sircar's standpoint is that it is not supported by historical evidence. The Indo-Greeks, as a matter of fact, possessed the territory of the lower Indus, but they became supplanted by the Śaka invaders in about the first century B. C.⁴⁴⁹ Therefore, it is less plausible that the conquered Greeks would have survived the following centuries. However, it cannot be excluded that the Indo-Scythians regarded the former prestigious culture as their own heritage, since their relicts show the influence of the Hellenism.⁴⁵⁰ In this way, the new conquerors could be straightforwardly included in the former Yavana-notion of the Hindus. This phenomenon would not be unprecedented seeing that there are numerous parallels in European history. For example, Attila the Hun in Hungary, Alexander the Great in North Macedonia are honoured as national ancestors, even though their connection with the modern nations does not seem too probable.

Lastly, Sircar's argumentation placed great emphasis on the origin of the name *yavana*. He regarded it necessary that the Indians differentiated the Yavanas and the Pārasīkas because they borrowed the appellation for the Greeks from the Persians, as a consequence of which they were obviously aware of the difference between the Greeks and the Persians.⁴⁵¹ Although this reasoning seems convincing at first, the presumed loan

⁴⁴⁸ BALOGH 2015: 50.

⁴⁴⁹ RAPSON 1922a: 548.

⁴⁵⁰ RAPSON 1922b: 567.

⁴⁵¹ SIRCAR 1959: 69.

may have happened during the Achaemenid age, when the Persians characteristically differed from the Yavanas. After Alexander's conquest, the former empire became vigorously Hellenised under the Seleucids. Furthermore, not only the above-mentioned Scythians but the arriving invaders also did not lack the influences of the Hellenistic culture. Thus, it would not be surprising, if these cultures would have somehow coalesced before the Hindu eyes.

In conclusion, Rapson's opinion seems rather plausible, according to which the word *yavana* signified the Greeks until the second century A. D.⁴⁵² Although I am not as sure as he is of the possibility of exact chronological determination, some stages of the process are likely discernible. The Jūnāgarh Inscription of Rudradāman I (second century A. D.)⁴⁵³ refers to a Yavana king by the name of Tuśāspha or Tuśāspha.⁴⁵⁴ This designation is evidently Iranian.⁴⁵⁵ On the other hand, most of the *purāṇic* cosmographies also use the word in its extended sense to denote the whole western barbaricum.⁴⁵⁶

Above all, I agree with those scholars, such as Bhandarkar and Roy, who claimed that Kālidāsa applied the term as a synonym of Pārasīka,⁴⁵⁷ which conventionally indicates the Sasanian Persians.⁴⁵⁸ However, before the detailed examination of the Sasanians, we should differentiate them as much as possible from the other, more or less contemporaneous Iranian people that were either the Scythians or the Parthians.

The former emerged on the Subcontinent in the first century B. C. and held sway over an extended region between Gandhāra and Ujjayinī till the following century, when they became ousted by the rising Parthians, who established a short-lived kingdom in the middle of the first century. Although the Śakas lost the greatest part of their former kingdom, it did not disappear completely and remained alive in Saurāṣṭra under the rule of the Western Satraps till the Gupta age.⁴⁵⁹

Historians usually suppose that their country was still too far for Samudra Gupta, whose conquest avoided them.⁴⁶⁰ However, his successor, Candragupta II became heir to a strong empire and put an end to the weakening Indo-Scythian control.⁴⁶¹

Since both the Śakas and the Pārasīkas belonged to the same cultural heritage, it would not be unimaginable that they had been roughly identical for Kālidāsa.

⁴⁵² RAPSON 1916: 86.

⁴⁵³ KIELHORN 1905–1906b: 41.

⁴⁵⁴ *EI Vol.* 8. No. 6. p. 43. l. 8.

⁴⁵⁵ HODIVALA 1920: 11.

⁴⁵⁶ *Brahma-p.* 19.8; *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* 1.16.12; *Garuḍa-p.* 1.55.6; *Kūrma-p.* 1.45.25; *Liṅga-p.* 1.52.29; *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* 57.8; *Matsya-p.* 114.11; *Vāmana-p.* 13.11; *Viṣṇu-p.* 2.3.8.

⁴⁵⁷ BHANDARKAR 1926: 134; ROY 1966: 27.

⁴⁵⁸ BHANDARKAR 1926: 134.

⁴⁵⁹ KULKE – ROTHERMUND 2002: 74.

⁴⁶⁰ KULKE – ROTHERMUND 2002: 83.

⁴⁶¹ KULKE – ROTHERMUND 2002: 84–85.

Furthermore, it would be a really remarkable omission if the great poet, while describing the world, had missed to illustrate the prominent opponents of his patrons.

Although this view makes sense, I cannot accept it because Kālidāsa's representation looks so typical for the Pārasīkas that it cannot be unintentional. To corroborate this argument, we should take a look back at the frequently mentioned Sagara-legend, which actually serves as the common origin myth of the western barbarians. As we have seen, all these communities possessed individual characteristic marks in consequence of Sagara's punishment. Thus, my impression is that Kālidāsa was acquainted with this tradition, when he described the Persians as wearing beard (*śmaśrula*), which plainly did not accord with the Śakas, who were famous for their distinct coiffure (*ardha-muṇḍa*).⁴⁶² By all means, the absence of the *kṣatrapas* remains to be explained, though it should be considered whether there is any greater abuse against an enemy than complete ignorance.

On the other hand, we should similarly inspect the relation between the Pārasīkas and the Parthians. In connection with the above cited sources, I did intentionally not pay attention to the designation of the bearded people which were Pahlavas, and boldly identified them with the Persians, since my purpose was firstly to distinguish them from the Śakas.

However, it is of course unavoidable to consider whether the Persians can be mentioned by this name in contrast to Albrecht Weber's widely accepted hypothesis, according to which, this appellation, as an Iranian loanword, referred typically to the Parthians.⁴⁶³ The German scholar actually espoused the etymological explanation of Justus Olshausen, according to which the word *pahlava* was derived from *parθava*, the

⁴⁶² The renowned story about Sagara's conquest against the barbarians is treated by the *Harivaṃśa* (10.30–46) as well as some additional *purāṇas* (*Bhāgavata*-p. 9.8.1–7; *Brahmāṇḍa*-p. 2.48.1–49.65, 2.63.121–142; *Brahma*-p. 8.33–52; *Nārada*-p. 1.8.1–65; *Viṣṇu*-p. 4.3.17–33). Here, I ignore the late version of the *Bhāgavata*– and the *Nārada-purāṇa* because they do not describe the vanquished people in detail. Although there are slight differences in the recorded ethnicities among the sources, five of the communities are found almost everywhere, which I summed up together with their hallmarks in the following chart:

	<i>Harivaṃśa</i>	<i>Brahmāṇḍa</i> -p.		<i>Brahma</i> -p.	<i>Viṣṇu</i> -p.
	10.42–43	2.48.44.	2.63.138–139	8.48–50	4.3.31.
Śaka	<i>ardha-muṇḍa</i>	<i>ardha-muṇḍa</i>	<i>ardha-muṇḍa</i>	<i>ardha-muṇḍa</i>	<i>ardha-muṇḍa</i>
Yavana	<i>muṇḍa</i>	<i>vigata-śmaśru</i>	<i>muṇḍa</i>	<i>muṇḍa</i>	<i>muṇḍa</i>
Kāmboja	<i>muṇḍa</i>	<i>buk^ānvita</i> (?)	<i>muṇḍa</i>	<i>muṇḍa</i>	om.
Pārada	<i>mukta-keśa</i>	om.	<i>mukta-keśa</i>	<i>mukta-keśa</i>	<i>pralamba-keśa</i>
Pahlava	<i>śmaśru</i>	<i>śmaśru</i>	<i>śmaśru</i>	<i>śmaśru</i>	<i>śmaśru</i>

⁴⁶³ WEBER 1961: 188.n.

former designation of the Parthians. Olshausen pointed at the commonness of the θ transformation and supposed, on the other hand, a metathesis, which was presented by him as an analogue of the *pahlu* (Farsi, side)-*parśu* (Sanskrit, rib) couple.⁴⁶⁴

Apart from the linguistic argumentation, there is another way of interpretation propounded by Sircar. He actually regarded the mythical Pahlavas to be identical with the Pārasīkas of the *Raghuvamśa* solely because of their shared hallmark,⁴⁶⁵ while he equated the Parthians to the Pāradas listed among Sagara's enemies, as the "loose-haired" ones (*mukta-keśa*).⁴⁶⁶ To verify this view, we should conduct an investigation into the occurrences of these designations in several folk lists.⁴⁶⁷ To get a comprehensive outlook about the related vocabulary, I add the Pārasīkas to the analysis and summarise its results in the following chart:

		Pahlava	Pārada	Pārasīka
<i>Brhatsamhitā</i>	14.1–33	14.17.	om.	om.
<i>Mahābhārata</i>	6.6.1–13.50	6.10.46.b	om.	6.10.51.c
<i>Brahma-p.</i>	19.1–29	om.	om.	19.18.d
<i>Brahma-p.</i>	27.1–80	27.48.b	27.46.b	om.
<i>Brahmāṇḍa-p.</i>	1.16.1–69	(1.16.47.d)	1.16.48.b	om.
<i>Kūrma-p.</i>	1.45.20–45	om.	om.	1.45.42.
<i>Mārkaṇḍeya-p.</i>	57.1–64	(57.36.b)	57.37.b	om.
<i>Mārkaṇḍeya-p.</i>	58.1–73	58.30.a	58.31.c	om.
<i>Matsya-p.</i>	114.1–57	(114.40.d)	114.41.d	om.
<i>Vāmana-p.</i>	13.1–58	13.37.d	(13.38.d)	om.
<i>Viṣṇu-p.</i>	2.3.1–28	om.	om.	2.3.18.b

⁴⁶⁴ OLSHAUSEN 1876: 16.

⁴⁶⁵ SIRCAR 1961–1962: 283.

⁴⁶⁶ SIRCAR 1961–1962: 281.

⁴⁶⁷ During my examination, I took the *pahlavas* identical with such alternative readings as *pallavā* (*Brahmāṇḍa-p.* 1.16.47.d) and *pallavāś* (*Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* 57.36.b; *Matsya-p.* 114.40.d), since they evidently seem to be corruptions from it. For the same reason, I also include *pārāvata*, an alteration of the *Vāmana-purāṇa* (13.38.d) for *pārada*. However, in any case, I distinguished these occurrences in the table with round brackets.

According to the examined sources, the Pāradas practically always appear together with the Pahlavas, which apparently supports Sircar's distinction. The Pārasikas, on the other hand, almost never occur in the same context with the others. The only one exception is found in the epic *Bhuvanakośa*, the textual tradition of which is too corrupt to be used as a reliable source. In this way, two main types of the catalogues can be differentiated, which seem to be fairly independent from each other.

Although the *purāṇas*, as complex literary works often cannot be precisely dated, I still venture to establish a relative chronology between the two kinds of catalogues. The lists containing Pārasikas seem rather archaic, because they are quite succinct. To be specific, their account of Madhyadeśa mentions only the Kurus and the Pañcālas and they commonly ignore the Dravidian people along with the entire northern region. The occurrence of the Hūnas in the *Viṣṇu-* and the *Kūrma-purāṇa*,⁴⁶⁸ however, casts doubts on their ancientness, since their appearance is reliably dated to the Gupta period. Nevertheless, after a short critical investigation, we can be convinced that the readings of the *Viṣṇu-* and the evidently late *Kūrma-purāṇa* should be considered secondary to that of the *Brahma-purāṇa*.⁴⁶⁹ Thus, these enumerations hint at a quite contracted disposition, the expansion of which is observable in the later lists. The name Pārasika should be an early designation for the Persians, which implies their identification with the Achaemenids because they were really the first ones who designated themselves as the rulers of Persia (Pārsa),⁴⁷⁰ from which Old Persian word the Sanskrit Pārasika might be derived.

Hence, the fact that Kālidāsa calls the people who are commonly known as Pahlavas, Pārasikas, can be regarded as an archaism, the employment of which is imaginable, since Raghu indeed was a king of the past. Whether Kālidāsa's archaism was intentional or not, his expression concurs with the Sasanian state propaganda as well, according to which, they were the immediate inheritors of the Achaemenids.⁴⁷¹

Following the study of Kālidāsa's *Pārasika*-concept, we should examine who these people were in reality. Although we have some record of several Indo-Sasanian dynasties, in their case such a collective assimilation is not perceptible as in the case of the eastern and southern territories. The mythological sources do not pay much attention to them. Aside from the Sagara-myth, there is another aetiological story about them, which relates that the barbarians were born from the various secretions of Vasiṣṭha's

⁴⁶⁸ *Kūrma-purāṇa* 1.45.42.a; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 2.3.17.c.

⁴⁶⁹ *Brahma-purāṇa* 19.15.c–18•.

⁴⁷⁰ *Altpr. Insch.* p. 33. § 1. AD, § 2. AC•.

⁴⁷¹ SHAHBAZI 2005.

cow.⁴⁷² Thus, the Hindus apparently assigned the Persians as well as some additional peoples an unnatural descent instead of inserting them into Yayāti's extended genealogy, which functioned as common family tree of the whole mankind.⁴⁷³ Not registering them among the degenerated progenies of Yayāti's cursed sons, on the other hand, can be regarded a kind of appreciation, since they are eulogised as supernatural soldiers, who, being newly born, destroyed Viśvāmitra's army.

The Iranians are, moreover, the closest relatives of the Indo-Āryans, whom they repeatedly encountered during their history. As a result, there are numerous connections between the two civilisations. For example, it is usually accepted that Aśoka's famous edicts show a strong influence of the Achaemenid culture.⁴⁷⁴ In Kālidāsa's years, several centuries after the Maurya domain, the Guptas appeared as the re-founders of the former empire, while the neighbouring Iran started to flourish as well under the Sasanians, who claimed themselves to be the direct successors of the glorious Achaemenids.⁴⁷⁵

The reborn Persian Empire not only became the main rival of Rome in the West but also inherited the former Kushan provinces in the Indus Valley as well as in Bactria, both of which were embodied in the empire as a detached administrative unit, the governors of which possessed the title of *Kuṣānśāh* till the Hunnic conquest,⁴⁷⁶ and which may have been the immediate neighbour of the emerging Gupta empire.

To show the relationship between the two kingdoms, the phrase *daivaputra-ṣāhi-ṣāhanuṣāhi* occurring in the Ilāhābād Pillar Inscription seems to be the earliest reference, which has a fairly Iranian sound, though there is no consensus about its identification. Yet, it is not obvious at first sight whether the compound forms a singular royal title or refers to several separate kingdoms.

⁴⁷² The myth is related by both the *Mahābhārata* (1.165.1–44) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.50.16–54.12). As maintained by them, Vasiṣṭha played host to king Viśvāmitra and his soldiers in the forest. The sage produced delicious dishes to the guests from his magic cow (*kūmadhenu*), which, in this way, became begrudged by the royal guest. Thus, Viśvāmitra first tried to barter it, however, when Vasiṣṭha refused his offer, he resorted to force. To save the life of his lord, the cow, nevertheless, produced barbarians, who overcame Viśvāmitra's army. Apart from the topical legend, Vasiṣṭha's affection for the foreigners seems remarkable. They were not only regarded as his creatures, but it was also he who provided them with protection against Sagara's attack.

⁴⁷³ Although the *Mahābhārata*, in fact, designated Turvasu as the progenitor of the Yavanas (1.80.26.b) serving as a collective noun, none of the later extended genealogies (*Harivaṃśa* 23.123–129; *Agni-p.* 2.76.1–3; *Bhāgavata-p.* 9.23.16c–18; *Brahma-p.* 13.142–148.b; *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* 2.74.1–6; *Matsya-p.* 48.1–5) mention any Western ethnicities among Turvasu's descendants, whom they honour as the ancestor of the Dravidians.

⁴⁷⁴ THOMAS 1922: 494.

⁴⁷⁵ SHAHBAZI 2005.

⁴⁷⁶ LA VAISSIÈRE 2016.

By all means, to understand the designation *daivaputra*, the contemporary Chinese sources seem helpful, according to which the country of the Yuezhi was ruled by the Son of Heaven. This honorific corresponds to Sanskrit *devaputra*,⁴⁷⁷ the *vṛddhi*-derivation of which might be identical with the Kushans, since they were ruled by a king with such a label.⁴⁷⁸ On this basis, Buddha Prakash declared that Samudra Gupta may have been in connection with the declining Kushan Empire.⁴⁷⁹ Although he was aware that the Sasanians adopted the Kushan royal titles, he excluded the Persian relationship because names such as Samudra and Candra occurred on typically Kushan styled coins.⁴⁸⁰ However, it does not seem established enough why the Sasanian occupation should have meant an immediate interruption of the Kushan culture. On the contrary, the later so-called Kushano-Sasanian coins show just the combination of the Indian and Sasanian iconographical elements.⁴⁸¹

The other point which encourages me not to accept Prakash's hypothesis is the usual form of the title of the Kushan rulers, who designated themselves as *šaonano šao* (counterpart of Sanskrit *śāhi-anuśāhi*) as well as Kushan, but the combination of these labels (*Kuśānśāh*) was the innovation of Sasanian governors.⁴⁸² In this way, the *daivaputra-śāhi-śāhanuśāhi* seems to be nothing else but an Indianized form of the Sasanian title. This striking correlation, therefore, also suggests that the compound does not refer to several separate kingdoms.⁴⁸³ Thus, we can conclude that the Guptas probably were in connection with the Sasanians since Samudra Gupta.

Raghu, the ascetic

This time Kālidāsa compares Raghu, as he is approaching Persia by land (*sthala-vartmanā*), to an ascetic:

Pārasikāṃs tato jetuṃ pratasthe sthala-vartmanā|
*indriy^ākhyān iva ripūṃs tattva-jñānena saṃyamī <Raghuḥ>||*⁴⁸⁴

Thence he set out by an inland route to conquer the Persians, as proceeds an ascetic to conquer, by the knowledge of truth the enemies called Senses.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁷⁷ PRAKASH 1957: 120.

⁴⁷⁸ SHARMA 1978: 129–130.

⁴⁷⁹ PRAKASH 1957: 128.

⁴⁸⁰ PRAKASH 1957: 126.

⁴⁸¹ CALLIERI 2004.

⁴⁸² LA VAISSIÈRE 2016.

⁴⁸³ ALLAN 1967: xxvi–xxvii; SHARMA 1978: 158.

⁴⁸⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 4.62.

⁴⁸⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 113.

This new role is incidentally the exact opposite of that joyful playboy whom we saw in the description of the South. Although the previous Paraśurāma-similes already alluded slightly to this aspect, since the Bhārgava hero was not only known as an excellent warrior but also as a renouncer, it is here that the image of the ascetic is fully developed and unfolded.

Kālidāsa, in accordance with his basic concept, envisages the inhabitants as the senses, which are beyond doubt the main foes of the ascetics. He additionally goes on to say that it is the knowledge of the *tattvas* by which ascetics can achieve control over the senses.

In this way, the structure of the verse suggests that this latter instrumental form (*tattva-jñāna*) should be somehow connected to the previous one, in other words, to the overland path, on which Raghu reaches the Pārasika country, otherwise the simile would be asymmetrical.

However, it is truly difficult to find any correspondence between these expressions. Among the commentators, only the Keralans exerted themselves to make it clear. Aruṇagirinātha maintained that both Raghu and the yogi (*saṃyamī*) chose the ritually pure method to achieve their goals.⁴⁸⁶ In relation to the conqueror, he, along with some other interpreters, referred to a *dharmic* prescription according to which seafaring was forbidden for kings.⁴⁸⁷ On the other hand, for an ascetic only *tattva-jñāna* could be suitable because of its imperishability.⁴⁸⁸

Nārāyaṇa, the other Keralan commentator, understood the term *tattva-jñāna* as acquaintance with the perishable nature of things.⁴⁸⁹ His theory is incidentally quite complex because he put emphasis not only on the ethical motivation of the choice but on its practicality as well. Thus, he suggested that the seagoing journey would have been more complicated to accomplish.⁴⁹⁰

Both of these explanations seem to me a bit weak. Although they realise well the correspondence of the instrumental forms, both the shared *dharmic* aspect and the suitability of the choices are similarities that are not particular enough to work in such a figure of speech.

To understand the simile better, we should set aside those views which associated *tattva-jñāna* with the general knowledge of truth and focus on Vallabhadeva's and He-

⁴⁸⁶ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.●.

⁴⁸⁷ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.●; ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 81.▼.

⁴⁸⁸ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.●.

⁴⁸⁹ NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.●.

⁴⁹⁰ NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.●.

mādrī's explanations, who took it as a Sāṅkhya term.⁴⁹¹ According to Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṅkhyakārikā*,⁴⁹² the word *jñāna* refers to a meditational technique during which one mentally separates oneself by degrees from all the *tattvas*.⁴⁹³ Gauḍapāda, presumably the earliest commentator of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, already used the (*pañcaviṃśati*-)*tattva-jñāna* appellation for this method.⁴⁹⁴ Thus, *tattva-jñāna* looks like a kind of non-material path to obtain salvation, which can be in this way considered as a counterpart of that physical road which was taken by Raghu.

The simile is more or less explained in this way, yet it remains dubious, why a special emphasis is put on the overland road just here, if Raghu moved continuously by land during his conquest. As we have seen in connection with this problem, some above-quoted commentators referred to the prohibition of travelling by sea.

On the other hand, the historical background may also provide a plausible answer. The West-Indian seaside was deeply engaged in maritime trading activity with the Sasanian Empire.⁴⁹⁵ This fruitful mercantile relationship suggests that the usual means to travel to Persia were the sea routes. Raghu's choice, from this view, could be extraordinary.

Although I did not find any evidence, I would not be surprised if the conception of the Pārasika home over the sea was additionally implied by a pseudo-etymology, which attempted to derive the word from the Sanskrit *pāra*, "further shore". The idea, according to which the Persians lived somewhere on the opposite shore of the sea, is in any case perceivable in the Cidambaram Inscription of Kullotuṅga Cola from the eleventh century,⁴⁹⁶ in which the fame of the Cola king is exalted by the Persian women living on the opposite coast of the sea.⁴⁹⁷

On the other hand, the alternative route preferred by Raghu is not simply unusual but it also can be regarded as an outstanding venture because of the crossing over the Great Indian Desert.

In the subsequent verse, the conqueror sustains his ascetic behaviour, and does not tolerate the flush of intoxication of the Yavana women, whose immoral conduct further emphasises the contrast between them:

⁴⁹¹ HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.63.♦; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.62.♦.

⁴⁹² *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 45.♦.

⁴⁹³ RUZSA 1997: 158.

⁴⁹⁴ GAUḌAPĀDA comm. ad *SK* 45.♦.

⁴⁹⁵ MALEKANDATHIL 2010: 1.

⁴⁹⁶ *EI Vol. 5*. No. 13. p. 103–104.

⁴⁹⁷ *EI Vol. 5*. No. 13. p. 104. l. 3.♦.

*Yavanī-mukha-padmanām sehe madhu-madam na sah <Raghu>|
bāl^ātāpam iv'ābjānām a-kāla-jalad^odayah||*⁴⁹⁸

He could not bear the flush caused by wine in the lotus-faces of the Yavana-women (the famles of the Ionians), just as the gathering of unseasonable clouds (does not bear, i. e., is jealous of, destroys) the young Sun, (the friend) of the water-lotuses.⁴⁹⁹

The Yavana ladies seem to be analogous to the Keralan ones, who, though were first frightened, eventually became adorned by Raghu.⁵⁰⁰ In this case, the drunkenness of the Persians is completely eliminated because an ascetic, unlike a womaniser, does not tolerate any frivolous activity.

To illustrate Raghu's link with the local women, Kālidāsa inserts an additional simile, in which the attacker is described as a risen cloud which does not endure even the slight warmth of early morning sunshine upon the lotuses, corresponding to the lotus-faced Yavana women. Most of the commentators claim that it is the red colour which connects the ladies to the flowers. In other words: the female faces became flushed because of the liquor, just as the lotuses attain a reddish sheen from the early sunshine.⁵⁰¹

Raghu's resemblance to the cloud, on the other hand, indicates the *dharmic* character of his conquest, because rain has a vital importance in the life of the desert cultures. The fact that Kālidāsa characterised the cloud as being unexpectedly born⁵⁰² suggests that he was more or less familiar with the nature of the local moistureless climate.

Lastly, the verse, in other respects, serves as a kind of poetic suspension, since Kālidāsa may have described the worrying Persian wives intentionally in the first place

⁴⁹⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 4.63.

⁴⁹⁹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 113.

⁵⁰⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 4.48.

⁵⁰¹ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.●; HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.64.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.63.●.

⁵⁰² In this case, I follow Vallabhadeva's interpretation (comm. ad *Ragh* 4.63.●), which seems mostly consistent with desert weather conditions. However, there is a good deal of additional explanations. Mallinātha (comm. ad *Ragh* 4.61.●) together with the Keralan commentators (ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA, NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.●), claimed that the cloud was risen unseasonably because it was not the time of the monsoon, which is also shown by the fact that lotuses do not flourish during the monsoon. (ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.●) Apart from it, a more elaborated explanation is attributed to Hemādri, who zealously attempted to determine the cloud as that of the autumn or the rainy season. Nevertheless, he only unfolded the latter one in details. In this case, he took the word *a-kāla* as a genitive *tatpuruṣa*-compound (HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.64.●) with the meaning of the season of Viṣṇu, i. e. the monsoon. In spite of the previous ones, Vaidyaśrīgarbha understood *a-kāla* as an unusual period of the day, which was in this case the dawn, because the clouds, in his opinion, were typically connected to the night. Eventually, he cited an alternative from another unnamed commentator, according to whom *a-kāla-jalad^odayah* was a synonym of mist (*kuheli*). (VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 61.°).

to increase the excitement of the audience moderately before the description of the real war.⁵⁰³

The following verse is already dedicated to illustrating the way by which Raghu fights against the Pārasīkas:

*saṃgrāmas tumulas tasya <Raghoḥ> Pārasikāśva-sādhanaīḥ|
śārṅga-kūjita-vijñeya-pratīyodho rajasy abhūt||*⁵⁰⁴

The fierce battle, in which the contending combatants on both sides could recognise each other only by the twangs of their bows, took place between him and the Persian cavalry. (transl. with modifications)⁵⁰⁵

Kālidāsa places their struggle in the middle of the desert, where the fight is aggravated not only by the enemies but also by the extreme weather conditions. Because of the sandstorm, the Persians become invisible, and Raghu can perceive them only by the sounds of their bowstrings.

The verse, on the other hand, introduces the two most elemental features of Persian warfare, namely horsemanship and archery. Both these skills were fundamental parts of education from childhood during the Sasanian period.⁵⁰⁶

The archers were distinguished from the ordinary, unsalaried footmen enlisted from peasants because of their firepower, which was elemental in the decision of the battles.⁵⁰⁷ Nevertheless, they were not as capable as to question the indisputable precedence of

⁵⁰³ Although most of the commentators took the verse in this sense, there is no shortage of some alternative explanations. Nārāyaṇa distinguished the Yavanas from the Pārasīkas, and maintained that they became anxious because they did not think that Raghu would be able to attain such a distant country as the Yanavas'. (NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.●) The Nepalese commentators, on the other hand, claimed that the Yavana ladies stopped drinking just because their husbands were already killed by Raghu. (ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 82.†●; VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHĀ comm. ad *Ragh* f. 84.†●).

⁵⁰⁴ *Raghuvaṃśa* 4.64. – Apart from Vallabhadeva, the commentators read Western cavalry (*pāścātyair āśva-sādhanaīḥ*) in the place of the Persian (*Pārasikāśva-sādhanaīḥ*). (ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.61; HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.65; JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.67; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.62; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.61; ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 82.†; VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHĀ comm. ad *Ragh* f. 61.†) These scholars distinguished thus the Pārasīkas and the Yavanas from each other, which motivated the presence of an additional ethnicity, since the reoccurrence of the already defeated Persians would not have been too reasonable. However, this way of interpretation is not very probable because, as I have already shown, the whole section from the sixty-second to the sixty-seventh verse is dedicated to the illustration of the Pārasīka country.

⁵⁰⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 113. – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *pāścātyair āśva°* instead of *pārasikāśva°* in the second *pāda* and *°pratīyodhe* instead of *°pratīyodho* in the fourth *pāda*, and translates the verse as follows: "Fierce was the battle that took place between him and the inhabitants of the western coast, with their cavalry for an army, in the midst of dust in which the contending combatants...".

⁵⁰⁶ TAFĀZZOLĪ 1997.

⁵⁰⁷ SHAHBĀZĪ 1986.

the cavalry, which was patently the main force of the Persian army. Horsemanship was actually a privilege of the noblemen, who were, therefore, respected members of the society. However, this honour concerned not only them but also their warhorses, among which the most successful ones were sung in poems just like the human heroes.⁵⁰⁸

But even in spite of their famous cavalry, the Pārasīkas were not able to resist Raghu's attack and the battlefield became carpeted by their bearded heads, which are compared to heaps of honeycombs covered by bees:

*bhall^âpavarjitaḥ teṣāṃ <Pārasikānām> śirobhiḥ śmaśrulaḥ mahīm|
tastāra saraghā-vyāptaiḥ sa <Raghuḥ> kṣaudra-pāṭalair iva||*⁵⁰⁹

He covered the earth with their bearded heads, severed by his *bhalla* arrows as with fly-covered heaps of honey-combs.⁵¹⁰

As we have already seen, the verse has a key role in the identification of the Pārasīkas, however, it is not negligible from the poetical view either. The image was possibly inspired by the *Mahābhārata*, in which the heads of the Dasyus furnished with helmets overlaid the ground just like birds without tail-feathers.⁵¹¹ Although the identification of the Dasyus is usually quite complicated, in this context the epic clearly used it as a synonym for the north-western barbarians, such as Kāmbojas, Śakas and Yavanas defeated by Sātyaki. Thus, it seems conceivable that the whole canto about Sātyaki's heroism could have been a source for Kālidāsa as well.

By all means, Kālidāsa converts the image into a more poetic form and according to Sohoni's suggestion, he also concealed a pun here in the simile. According to Sohoni, the compound *bhall^âpavarjita* can be connected both to the Persian heads and to the honeycombs. In the first, obvious case, the word *bhalla* means a kind of arrow by which the hostile soldiers are beheaded. On the other hand, Sohoni rightly recognised that the word means bear as well. In this way, the compound can be connected to the heaps of the honeycombs which cover the ground after the bears have feasted on the honey.⁵¹²

Although Sohoni's idea seems a bit bold, the structure supports it fairly well. The beards evidently characterise the heads, as the bees do honeycombs which correspond to each other in the simile, but the third instrumental (*bhall^âpavarjitaḥ*) remains

⁵⁰⁸ SHAHBAZI 1987.

⁵⁰⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.65.

⁵¹⁰ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 114.

⁵¹¹ *Mahābhārata* 7.95.40.●.

⁵¹² SOHONI 1957: 219.

neutral.⁵¹³ Therefore, the attempt to somehow connect the attribute to both elements of the simile seems reasonable as well as expected.

After Raghu's triumph over the Pārasīkas, Kālidāsa does not miss to point again at the *dharmic* disposition of his conquest:

*apanīta-sīras-trāṇāḥ śeṣās <Pārasīkāḥ> taṁ <Raghum> śaraṇaṁ yayuḥ|
praṇipāta-pratikāraḥ samrambho hi mahāātmanām||*⁵¹⁴

The survivors, putting off their helmets, sought his protection (yielded to Raghu); for submission is the only remedy to assuage the wrath of the magnanimous.⁵¹⁵

Raghu appears here as a pious lord who does not want to annihilate his enemy, but accepts their apology and gives them refuge. Kālidāsa, on the other hand, remains as meticulous as to share an additional attribute of the inhabitants, since he describes the capitulating warriors as taking off their helmets, the employment of which was characteristic of the Sasanian army.⁵¹⁶

Finally, the section ends with the description of Raghu's soldiers:

*vinayante sma tad-yodhā madhubhir vijaya-śramam|
āstīrṇājīna-ratnāsu drākṣā-valaya-bhūmiṣu||*⁵¹⁷

His warriors (i. e. soldiers) removed the fatigue of victory by means of wine in vineyards (the grounds surrounded by the bowers of vine), where the choicest of deerskin were laid (spread).⁵¹⁸

This image, in fact, strongly resembles a previous one, in which the soldiers were drinking on the seaside after the victorious march against Kalinga.⁵¹⁹ However, Kālidāsa exchanges the typical elements of the former landscape with Persian traits.

The soldiers swallow wine (*madhu*) here, the wide consumption of which could be a general stereotype about the region, since the Greek sources also maintain that the

⁵¹³ It was Sarvajñavanamuni who shared the only alternative interpretation here. He claimed that the bees were analogous to the *bhallas* instead of the beards: *saraghā-sthānīyā bhallāḥ kṣaudra-paṭala-sthānīyāni śīrāṁsi|* (GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: 356.).

⁵¹⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 4.66.

⁵¹⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 114.

⁵¹⁶ LITVINSKY 2003.

⁵¹⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 4.67.

⁵¹⁸ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 114.

⁵¹⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.44. (See p. 35.).

Persians were big wine consumers.⁵²⁰ Thus, it seems intentional that the great poet places Raghu's relaxing fighters just in the middle of a vineyard.

The cultivation of grapes was actually less known on the Peninsula, and it concentrated only in a small number of dry regions in Northwest-India,⁵²¹ where it was presumably introduced due to Persian influence. The presence of such vineyards is affirmed by the *Harṣacarita*, according to which the so-called *drākṣā-maṇḍapas* (a kind of wine press house) were found in Śrīkaṇṭha.⁵²²

However, grape wine, though it was produced in India, never escaped from its foreign origin, in consequence of which it usually was associated with barbarians. In Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, for example, the outsider Yavanas were the only ones who made a reference to grapes.⁵²³

Kālidāsa, moreover, characterises the vineyards with the epithet *āstīrṇ^ājina-ratnā-su*. Most of the commentators claimed that the compound meant that the best, more literally gem-like antelope skins were spread on the plantation. However, it seems strange to suppose that these skins worn by ascetics were as precious as jewels. Vallabhadeva, as usual, had a different view about the compound and maintained that these plantations were such places where the treasures were the hairy skins. Although his explanation is a bit elliptic, he was probably right. However, it is not the skins that were the real riches of these fields but the fruits which were ordinarily dried on them. In this way, the compound seems to be a synecdoche because Kālidāsa refers to the skins while the raisins are possibly in his mind. This kind of application of the deer skins, as a matter of fact, was widely spread: it occurs, among others, in the just mentioned *Harṣacarita*.⁵²⁴

The verse, in other ways, can be regarded as a further confirmation of Raghu's pre-eminence. He, as the supreme ascetic, withstands the temptations of Persian life in spite of his drinking soldiers.

To sum up, I would like to call attention to Kālidāsa's evident familiarity with Persian culture. His accurate description indicates that he, possibly, was as open-minded as to study intimately the culture of the prestigious neighbour.

⁵²⁰ BAZIN 1985.

⁵²¹ BASHAM 1959: 194.

⁵²² *Harṣacarita* 3. p. 144. l. 6–8•.

⁵²³ *Daśakumāracarita* 6. p. 215. l. 5–8•.

⁵²⁴ *Harṣacarita* 2. p. 71. l. 3–4•.

UTTARAPATHA

Raghu's world conquest finally comes to an end in the North. This direction may be regarded as the hardest battleground, seeing that Yudhiṣṭhira longing for *digvijaya* appointed Arjuna, the most excellent of his brothers to subjugate it.⁵²⁵

The northern region, Uttarapatha, on the other hand, was not only inhabited by the most dangerous barbarians, but also functioned as a path to the celestial worlds. Thus, many of the conquerors enter heavenly kingdoms from here.⁵²⁶ Although Raghu has not left the earthly sphere yet, the northern people obviously appear as the final test for him before the ultimate apotheosis.

Kālidāsa cast aside the epic schema, according to which *digvijayas* started in the North.⁵²⁷ Apparently, he is the first poet, who transposed Uttarapatha to the poetically more appropriate, concluding position, because of which the most dangerous area became the real climax of the plot. His innovation, moreover, was as fitting as to be adopted by later poets.⁵²⁸

Another characteristic of the North is its recentness in Indian cosmography. As we have seen above, there are some concise lists of peoples, which omit the inhabitants of the North.⁵²⁹ Others settle the Himālaya as a frontier between Āryāvarta and the North,⁵³⁰ which remained an invincible obstacle for *brāhmaṇical* expansion in contrast to the southern Vindhya.

The slighter degree of familiarity with the North is likewise observable in Yayāti's genealogy. As claimed by its presumably oldest version, the four basic groups of savages, namely the Yādavas, the Yavanas, the Bhojas, and the Mlecchas were begotten by Yayāti's four sons.⁵³¹ Thus, it would be logical, if these peoples could be located in accordance with the four directions. Nevertheless, such a distribution would not be in this case without doubts. Although the location of the Bhojas in the South as well as that of the Mlecchas in the East seem acceptable, both of the remaining ones have real affinity with the West.

⁵²⁵ *Mahābhārata* 2.23.1–25.20.

⁵²⁶ Arjuna, for example, attained the heavenly kingdom of the Uttara Kurus. Although he was forbidden to enter the country, its inhabitants gave him celestial presents as indemnity (*Mahābhārata* 2.25.8–16). The great Kashmirian invader of the eighth century, Lalitāditya as well visited the Uttara Kurus together with Strīrājya (realm of the Amazons) during his *digvijaya* (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 4.173–175).

⁵²⁷ *Mahābhārata* 2.23.1–29.19, 3.241.15.b.*24.27–72.

⁵²⁸ *Gaiḍavaho* 419–439; *Kathāsaritsāgara* 3.5.52–118; *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 4.131–178.

⁵²⁹ *Brahma-purāṇa* 19.15c–18; *Kūrma-purāṇa* 1.45.39–42.b; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 2.3.15–18.b.

⁵³⁰ *Agni-purāṇa* 118.6; *Brahma-purāṇa* 19.8; *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 1.16.12; *Kūrma-purāṇa* 1.45.25; *Liṅga-purāṇa* 1.52.29; *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* 57.8; *Matsya-purāṇa* 114.11; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 2.3.8.

⁵³¹ *Mahābhārata* 1.80.26.; *Matsya-purāṇa* 34.30. •.

Perhaps, it was this unfulfilled claim which motivated the later reworking of the lineage. The forefather of the Yavanas, Turvasu, in this way, became linked to the Southern people, while Druhyu's children, the Bhojas were merged with the Yādava family. As a result, Druhyu inherited the northern people, who were generally identified with the Gāndhāras.⁵³² Still, if we recall the definition of Āryāvarta, it seems that Gandhāra does not truly accord with the classical conception of Uttarapatha, since that country was situated south of the North-Indian mountain ranges. This fact also explains why the Drauh-yavas, though probably of foreign ancestry, became assimilated as soon as the Yādavas.

The North, of course, did not stay without inhabitants and the later geographical works connected as many peoples to it as to the other world divisions. However, it never became as homogenised as the remaining regions where the well-determinable foreign influences, such as Sino-Tibetan, Dravidian and Greek-Iranian, developed the local culture. On the contrary, the peoples of Uttarapatha are grouped into geographically as well as culturally independent communities inside the region.

In this way, there are three greater areas differentiated in Kālidāsa's account. The great poet first writes about the multicultural Bactria (Bāhlika), then the Himālaya and lastly the solitary kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa.

BACTRIA

Bactria appears as the first region of Uttarapatha, the recognition of which is made possible by the mention of the river Vaṅkṣu (Oxus), in the valley of which the cosmopolitan country flourished. Although many of the commentators read Sindhu instead of Vaṅkṣu,⁵³³ their choice seems less plausible, since the saffron associated with the river did not exist in the Indus valley but it did grow typically in Bactria.⁵³⁴ In this way, the change may have been motivated by the commentators' unfamiliarity with the distant region.

We find diverging statements about Bactria, in several sources, which were probably prompted by its turbulent past. The name of the territory preserves the memory of the ancient Bāhlikas,⁵³⁵ who occur frequently in the early Indian sources, being associated

⁵³² *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* 9.23.14.c-16.b; *Brahma-purāṇa* 13.148.c-151; *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 2.74.7-12.b; *Garuḍa-purāṇa* 1.139.66.b-67; *Harivaṃśa* 23.130-132; *Matsya-purāṇa* 48.6-7; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 4.17.1-2.

⁵³³ ARUṆAGIRNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.66.●; JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.72.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.67.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.66.●.

⁵³⁴ GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: 357.

⁵³⁵ MAYRHOFER 1996: 218.

with the Kuru kings.⁵³⁶ A prince called Bāhlika begotten by Pratīpa moved to the homeland of his mother, namely the Śibi country, probably situated in the Svāt valley,⁵³⁷ while his brother, Śaṃtanu held sway in the paternal homeland.⁵³⁸

Therefore, it seems plausible to suppose an early interrelation between the ancient Śibis and Bāhlikas. The Śibis, who belonged to the Auśīnaras, could be a pre-Āryan community.⁵³⁹

On the other hand, the Bāhlikas as Pratīpa's offspring were certainly originated from Pūru,⁵⁴⁰ whose lineage was ordained to sustain the "pure" bloodline after Yayāti's death. Furthermore, beyond Yayāti's genealogy, the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* also supports the affinity of the Bāhlikas' with the *brāhmaṇical* culture, since it designates Bactria (Bāhli) as the homeland of the Lunar lineage. According to it, the dynasty-founder Ila/Ilā was initially the king of Bāhli, who later moved to Madhyadeśa and founded Pratiṣṭhāna.⁵⁴¹ Bāhlika's exodus in this way can be interpreted as an attempt to re-establish the *brāhmaṇical* culture in the former homeland. Prince Bāhlika, therefore, looks like an early coloniser of the Northern region, in whose ancestry such virtuous Veda-followers as Somadatta, Bhūriśravas, Śalya, and Mādri occur.⁵⁴²

The positive Bāhlika image, however, was not long-lasting. Traces of their gradual pollution have been perceivable already since the *Mahābhārata*. According to the epic, Karṇa called Śalya to account for the wickedness of the Bāhlikas, and at the same time, he gave a very detailed description about the country and its despised habits.⁵⁴³ As we read in the text, Śākala (modern Siyālkoṭ)⁵⁴⁴ was the capital of the Bāhlika kingdom.⁵⁴⁵ This statement has recently generated long discussions about how the Bāhlikas associated with Bactria occurred in such a southern region as Śākala. Nando Lal Dey differentiated two places by the name of Bāhlika,⁵⁴⁶ though he did not exclude that the southern one was actually a colony of the Bactrians.⁵⁴⁷ Sircar went even further and asserted that there existed two, unrelated countries, Bāhlika and Vāhika, which were confused because of the similarity of their names.⁵⁴⁸ He established his view on the basis of the

⁵³⁶ *Mahābhārata* 1.90.46.♦; *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* 12.9.3.3. p. 952.♦.

⁵³⁷ DEY 1979: 188.

⁵³⁸ *Mahābhārata* 5.147.26–27♦.

⁵³⁹ LAW 1943: 84.

⁵⁴⁰ *Harivaṃśa* 23.1–115.

⁵⁴¹ *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.81.4–22.

⁵⁴² SZÁLER 2019: 112–117.

⁵⁴³ *Mahābhārata* 8.30.7–82.

⁵⁴⁴ DEY 1979: 174.

⁵⁴⁵ *Mahābhārata* 8.30.14.a.

⁵⁴⁶ DEY 1979: 19.

⁵⁴⁷ DEY 1979: 15.

⁵⁴⁸ SIRCAR 1971a: 237.

above-mentioned passage of the *Kaṛṇaparvan*, which calls the country centred on Śākala Vāhika, but neither do the manuscripts support this reading uniformly, nor did the critical editors prefer it. Sircar, in addition, reconstructed the *purāṇic* folk list,⁵⁴⁹ in which only the appearance of the Bāhlikas⁵⁵⁰ seems to be correct, whereas Vāhika, though Sircar attempted in vain to restore it, is not supported by any of the sources.⁵⁵¹

Yet, to save his theory, the epic *Bhuvanakośa*⁵⁵² and Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*⁵⁵³ appear to be helpful. To the previous one, however, I would not pay much attention since its available form, as we have already seen, is too corrupt to be reliable. On the other hand, the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* actually distinguishes these two names (Bāhlika and Vāhika). My only objection to it is that the two names appear together exclusively in an initial chapter, and Vāhika is omitted in the geographical chapter of the work. If they had really been separated, then it is difficult to explain, why Rājaśekhara mentioned only Bāhlika in his later, geographical chapter. Therefore, I tend to agree with the remark of its French translators, who took them as arbitrary synonyms.⁵⁵⁴ This view is, furthermore, supported by the immediate occurrence of the word Bāhlaveya, which looks like an additional variant for the previous ones.

After all, to avoid further misunderstandings about the passage I suggest two points to keep in mind. First, the fact that Bāhlika occasionally functioned as a name of the Madra kingdom in the *Mahābhārata* perhaps indicates that it should not be understood as a geographical noun but as a patronymic of its ruler, Śalya, who was Bāhlika's grandchild.⁵⁵⁵

We get, in this way, to the second point to explain why Kaṛṇa felt aversion towards the Bāhlikas, in spite of the fact that they originally may also have been Kurus. It seems that the word Bāhlika left behind its ethnical sense step by step and became a geographical term for Bactria. Thus, the Achaemenians and then the Greeks, as the new occupants of the territory, also inherited the designation Bāhlika. My suspicion is that Kaṛṇa's report conserves the memory of a real historical event, namely the southern expansion of the Bactrian Greeks in the second century B. C. Although Euthydemus (Εὐθύδημος) might already have held sway in Pañjāb, the real change happened under his son, Demetrius (Δημήτριος), who having conquered the Indus Valley, brought his

⁵⁴⁹ SIRCAR 1971a: 30–47.

⁵⁵⁰ SIRCAR 1971a: 32.

⁵⁵¹ SIRCAR 1971a: 36.

⁵⁵² *Mahābhārata* 6.10.45.c, 6.10.52.d.

⁵⁵³ *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* 3. p. 8.●.

⁵⁵⁴ STCHOUPAK – RENOU 1946: 50.n.

⁵⁵⁵ SZÁLER 2019: 112–117.

seat from the Bactrian homeland to Śākala.⁵⁵⁶ The centre of the Bāhlika state was Śākala and it was inhabited by people consuming alcohol and beef:⁵⁵⁷ this might well refer to the kingdom of Demetrius and his descendants.⁵⁵⁸ Otherwise, it would not be fitting if the Bāhlikas unexpectedly became degenerate even though they were previously described as civilised.

From the time of the Greek invasion Bactria was under the influence of the new invaders, the unbroken waves of whom constantly refashioned its culture. Although the Bactrian civilisation, in this way, left its presumed bounds, their relation with the Peninsula was not interrupted yet, or otherwise how could Kālidāsa describe it in such detail?

The great poet associated the region with two ethnic groups, namely the Hūnas and the Kāmbojas. Great importance has been attributed to the appearance of the Huns, and on its basis some scholars attempted to ascertain the date of Kālidāsa. Pathak considered the Hūnas to be Hephthalites, who ruled the Oxus basin from the middle of the fifth century. This event, in Pathak's opinion, might have happened in Kālidāsa's time since his poem apparently alludes to it.⁵⁵⁹

The identification of the Hūnas with the Hephthalites, however, does not seem as obvious as Pathak claimed. The several written sources might actually allude to different communities under the designation "Huns", among which the Chionites, the Kidarites, and the Hephthalites were the most prominent.⁵⁶⁰ In Bactria, before the Hephthalites, another Hunnic tribe, the Chionites already emerged in the second half of the fourth century.⁵⁶¹ In this way, Pathak's argument loses its weight, since the Chionites are as possible candidates for Kālidāsa's Hūnas as the Hephthalites.

On the other hand, the poet also associated the region with the Kāmbojas, who were, in general, included among the most typical Barbarian inhabitants of the North. Although they occur in many early sources such as Aśoka's edicts⁵⁶² and the *Vaṃśa-brāhmaṇa*,⁵⁶³ there is only little information about them.

Long discussions have been made about the exact location of the Kāmboja country. Sircar placed it in the neighbourhood of modern Kandahar, in historical Arachosia, where Aśoka's bilingual decree was installed. To establish his theory, he called attention

⁵⁵⁶ MACDONALD 1922: 444–446.

⁵⁵⁷ *Mahābhārata* 8.30.30.♦.

⁵⁵⁸ BHARADWAJ 1987: 295.

⁵⁵⁹ PATHAK 1916: ix–x.

⁵⁶⁰ KURBANOV 2010: 1.

⁵⁶¹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2008: 92.

⁵⁶² *CII Vol 1*, p. 211.

⁵⁶³ *Vaṃśa-brāhmaṇa* 1.18–19♦.

to the Kāmbojas' habitual association with the Yavanas. Among others, according to the earlier discussed Sagara-legend, the mythical king gave the same punishment to both of them.⁵⁶⁴ Apart from the myths, they are mentioned together in the Mauryan inscriptions as well, which ultimately made Sircar find a place inside the empire, where the Greeks and the Iranians lived together. For him, the right location was provided by Aśoka's bilingual inscription installed at Kandahar, in which both the Greek and the Aramaic (the imperial language under the Achaemenians) were used.⁵⁶⁵

Although the Kandahar epigraph, as a bilingual one, in fact seems to be unique, Arachosia was not the only place where Greeks and Iranians existed side by side under Mauryan control. Maurya inscriptions were found in Aramaic language in the valley of the Kābul River at Lampāka (Lagmān),⁵⁶⁶ where the presence of the Greeks also seems probable, since it was situated next to Gandhāra.⁵⁶⁷

As a matter of fact, Sircar was aware of the weakness of his theory since it is hard to be sustained with regard to Raghu's *digvijaya*, according to which the Kāmbojas occur just after the subjugation of the Hūnas.⁵⁶⁸ Therefore most of the remaining speculations tried to locate the Kāmbojas somewhere around Bactria.

Among them, much attention has been given to Lassen's theory, according to which the Kāmbojas lived at the source of the Oxus in the Pamir.⁵⁶⁹ This location evidently corresponds to Kālidāsa's account. Besides, several linguistic arguments were provided aiming to find a relationship between the ancient Kāmbojas and the modern Tajik (Galcha)-speakers of the Pamir.⁵⁷⁰ Nevertheless, it seems hopeless to establish such a relationship, since all we know about the Kāmboja language is one citation in Yāska's *Nirukta*.⁵⁷¹

The Kāmbojas, on the other hand, were famous for horse breeding,⁵⁷² an activity for which the high mountains do not seem to be the most appropriate. Therefore, I rather support Stein's careful remark, who placed the Kāmbojas, on the basis of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, in the eastern part of modern Afghanistan.⁵⁷³

In connection with their ethnical identity most of the scholars are in favour of their Iranian origin. Besides the *Nirukta*, this view is mainly grounded on a Pāli passage from

⁵⁶⁴ *Harivaṃśa* 10.42; *Brahma-purāṇa* 8.48; *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 2.63.138.

⁵⁶⁵ SIRCAR 1971a: 198–199.

⁵⁶⁶ DEY 1979: 113.

⁵⁶⁷ DEY 1979: 60.

⁵⁶⁸ SIRCAR 1971a: 200.

⁵⁶⁹ AGRAWALA 1953: 48.

⁵⁷⁰ AGRAWALA 1953: 48.

⁵⁷¹ *Nirukta* 2.2. p. 161. l. 11–12•.

⁵⁷² CHAUDHURI 1950: 126.

⁵⁷³ STEIN 1988: 136.n.

the *Bhūridatta-jātaka*, which shows the destruction of harmful reptiles, frogs and insects as their religious duty.⁵⁷⁴ This custom (*xrafsra*-killing) was an elemental part of Zoroastrian belief.⁵⁷⁵

A fairly elaborate alternative way of interpretation is that of the Tibetan relationship,⁵⁷⁶ as a support of which the Nepalese tradition can be mentioned, which understands Tibet under the name of Kāmbojadesā.⁵⁷⁷

Finally, as a third alternative, there is the theory of Bimala Churn Law, according to which the Kāmbojas were one of the Vedic tribes.⁵⁷⁸ This view is, in fact, based on the *Vaṃśa-brāhmaṇa*, which actually suggests their connection with the Madras.⁵⁷⁹

In any case, on the basis of the examined sources, there are two main characteristic features of the Bactrian culture which seem to be identifiable. On the one hand, there is an ancient substratum composed of Bāhlikas, Madras, Śibis and Kāmbojas. Although in the past these peoples may have inhabited an extended area between North-Paṇjāb and Bactria, we do not know much about them. They actually show affinities with either the Iranian or the Tibetan culture, and therefore it is difficult to determine their ethnical belonging. However, it does not seem impossible that a presumably independent Bactrian civilisation was responsible for their shared cultural traits. The characteristic exposure-rite, for example, was practiced in Tibet as well,⁵⁸⁰ while it was unknown among the Western-Iranians until the expansion of Zoroastrianism.⁵⁸¹ Furthermore, if we give credit to Onesicritus's (Ὀνησίκριτος) report quoted by Strabo (Στράβων), we can observe that this custom distinctly flourished in Bactria, where the sick as well as the old were given alive to the dogs.⁵⁸² Perhaps, this custom can be appreciable in the background of the Śibi-legend, since the concept of the self-sacrifice is appreciable only in the Indian version of the legend.⁵⁸³

Apart from the less-known substratum, Bactria was continuously under the rule of several empire-builder peoples, the influence of which exerted the second main impact on the unique Bactrian culture.

⁵⁷⁴ *Jātakatthavannanā* 22.6.[543.]903. p. 208.♦.

⁵⁷⁵ NARIMAN 1912: 256.

⁵⁷⁶ ELIOT 1921: 6.

⁵⁷⁷ FOUCHER 1900: 134.

⁵⁷⁸ LAW 1943: 1.

⁵⁷⁹ MACDONELL – KEITH 1912: 138.

⁵⁸⁰ NARIMAN 1912: 257.

⁵⁸¹ BOYCE 1982: 26.

⁵⁸² JONES 1961: 281–283.

⁵⁸³ GAÁL 2015: 149.

The North warms up

The description of the first Uttarapatha scene is built on the contrast between the hotness of Raghu's glory and the coldness of the region. Raghu appears here as the Sun, whose only goal is to dry up the inhabitants just as it dries up moisture:

tataḥ <Raghuḥ> prataste Kauberīm Bhāsvān iva Raghur diśam|
*śarair usrair iv'ôḍicyān uddharisyan rasān iva||*⁵⁸⁴

Thence Raghu, like the Sun taking up the sap (of the earth) by his rays, careered towards the direction of Kubera (i. e. the northern direction) extirpating the northerns with his arrows.⁵⁸⁵

Incidentally, the great poet often compares the rulers of the Solar line to the eponymous heavenly body,⁵⁸⁶ which, however, was not typical in the pre-epic literature. In connection with Kālidāsa's Sun-similes, a remarkable theory was shared by George L. Hart, who found their origin in classical Tamil poetry, in which such similes existed from the beginning. According to Hart, the imagining of the earthly king as a link to the celestial sphere was completely foreign to Vedic thinking, where such a link was represented by the *brāhmaṇas*, but it was not unfamiliar among the Tamil people, who claimed that natural phenomena depended on their ruler.⁵⁸⁷

Although the association of the king with the Sun could be, thus, borrowed from South-India, the context in which Kālidāsa employed it suggests the observation of northern life. The mountainous area of the Himālayas was well-known as the country of eternal frost, the resistance of which to the extremely hot Indian summer could be imagined as a provocation towards the Sun. The same idea, in passing, occurs in the *Harṣacarita* as well, according to which the Sun actually takes revenge for the lotuses destroyed by the frost.⁵⁸⁸

In the following verse, the local enemies enter into the picture:

<Raghuḥ> jītān a-jayyas tān eva kṛtvā ratha-puraḥsarān|
*mah'ârṇavam iv'Aurv'âgniḥ pravives'Ôttarāpatham||*⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 4.68.

⁵⁸⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 115.

⁵⁸⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 1.18, 5.13, 7.60, 9.50, 10.55, 12.25, 15.76, 17.2, 17.48, 17.74.

⁵⁸⁷ HART 1976: 332–333.

⁵⁸⁸ *Harṣacarita* 2. p. 73. l. 4–5•.

⁵⁸⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.69.

After the invincible [Raghu] employed the formerly conquered people as forerunners of his chariots, he entered Uttarāpatha, just as Aurva's fire entered the ocean.

In this case Raghu employs the defeated soldiers as forerunners of his chariot (*rathapurahsara*) in his army. Among the commentators, Śrīṇātha identified these people with the previously subjugated Western people, following whose defeat Raghu turned northwards.⁵⁹⁰ On the other hand, this verse is omitted by Mallinātha and in the Keralan commentators, who would, nevertheless, have agreed with Śrīṇātha, if they had ever been familiar with the verse, since they may have regarded it as a variant for the introductory verse, because both of them described Raghu entering Uttarapatha.

Vallabhadeva offered a different interpretation and regarded the people who were made forerunners of his chariot to be the Northerners,⁵⁹¹ which way of interpretation seems rather plausible considering the preceding introduction of the direction.

Aside from the inhabitants, the tension between the conqueror and the country, imagined as heat and coldness, is still upheld here; however, the stresses are slightly modified. Raghu's identification with the mythological Aurva fire alludes to the subsiding of his rage. Although Uttarapatha was previously scorched by the Sun-like Raghu, this time it appears as the only shelter for him, just like the ocean for the Aurva fire. In this manner, the original opposition finally transforms into a symbiosis, since there is no ocean without the Aurva fire.

Another way of interpretation was offered by Vallabhadeva who understood the simile as an additional allusion to Raghu's excellence. According to him, Raghu was the only one who could enter Uttarapatha just as the Aurva fire alone was able to get into the ocean.⁵⁹² However, Vallabhadeva's view does not in fact accord with the origin myth of the Aurva fire, which was led into the ocean to become calmed and not to destroy it.⁵⁹³

After the diminishing of Raghu's anger, Kālidāsa also lowered his poetic perspective to describe several traits of the conquered country. First, the famous saffron fields of the Oxus occur, where the stamens of the flowers cling to the withers of Raghu's horses:

⁵⁹⁰ ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 83.1.

⁵⁹¹ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.69.1.

⁵⁹² VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.69.1.

⁵⁹³ Aurva was a Bhārgava *brāhmaṇa*, who was born from the thigh of his mother during the massacre performed by the *kṣatriyas* headed by Kārtavīrya Arjuna. Because of the killing of his forefathers, he felt extreme sorrow and decided to destroy the whole world with the fire of his ascetic power. However, before the catastrophe, Aurva's forefathers became visible and stopped him. They asked the sage to emit his fire into the ocean, which was the only capable one to store it. Therefore, it is commonly thought that this fire has been present under the sea since that. (*Mahābhārata* 1.169.11–171.22).

*vinīt^ādhva-śramās tasya <Raghoḥ> Vañkṣu-tīra-viveṣṭanaiḥ|
dudhuvur vājinaḥ skandhāml lagna-kuṅkuma-kesarān||*⁵⁹⁴

His horses, which had lessened their fatigues of the road by turning from side to side the banks of the river Sindhu [Oxus] shook their shoulders to which were clung the filaments of saffron.⁵⁹⁵

The poetic image, beyond demonstrating Kālidāsa's familiarity with the region, also has room for humour. Just like sandal powder, saffron pollen is usually associated with female breasts in Sanskrit literature, which habitually leave marks on the lovers' chest during lovemaking.⁵⁹⁶ In this way, the rolling horses appear to have sexual intercourse with the country, which seems a bit ironic taking the previous verses of the South into consideration, in which Raghu arises as the lover of the Earth.

Kālidāsa then returns to one of his most beloved topics to describe the faces of the women suffering from the conqueror:

*tatra Hūn^āvarodhānām bhartṛṣu vyakta-vikramam|
kapola-pāṭan^ādeśi babhūva Raghu-ceṣṭitam||*⁵⁹⁷

The heroism of Raghu's deeds was manifest with regard to the Hun men, and therefore it directed their wives to tear up their own cheeks.

In this case, the Hun wives tear up their cheeks. This behaviour is a widespread sign of mourning among the Nomadic people.⁵⁹⁸ However, it was less known on the Peninsula, and among the commentators only Vallabhadeva and the Nepalese scholars were aware of it.⁵⁹⁹

Excepting them, all the other commentators preferred the less appropriate reading of *kapola-pāṭala-* ("pale redness of the cheeks") instead of *kapola-pāṭana-* ("splitting of the cheeks"). This change at once gave room to alternative ways of exegesis.

Thus, according to Hemādri and Mallinātha, the fact that Raghu killed the Hun warriors impelled their wives to redden their faces by beating.⁶⁰⁰ The Keralan scholars

⁵⁹⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 4.70.

⁵⁹⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 115.

⁵⁹⁶ *Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha* 5979, 8007, 8011.●.

⁵⁹⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 4.71.

⁵⁹⁸ INGALLS 1976: 21.

⁵⁹⁹ ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 83.●; VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 62.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.71.●.

⁶⁰⁰ HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.71.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.70.●.

went even further and associated the reddish cheeks with the continuous flow of their tears.⁶⁰¹

Beside the cultural importance, Kālidāsa's three verses on women during the *digvijaya* form a special sequence inside the account. Raghu first decorates the Keralan maidens, then interrupts the Yavana social gathering and finally forces the Hūnas to maim themselves. Thus, Raghu's amorous relationship to the ladies seems to be in gradual decline during the conquest, while he gets nearer to the highest glory step by step.

On the other hand, Raghu's conduct towards the Huns, as a synecdoche, can also refer to his deep disapproval to the whole country. This way of explanation seems, moreover, reasonable in the light of the following verse, in which Raghu's elephants present themselves:

*Kāambojāḥ samare vīryaṁ tasya <Raghoḥ> sōdhum an-īśvarāḥ|
gaj[^]ālāna-parikliṣṭair akṣotaiḥ sārddham ānatāḥ||*⁶⁰²

The Kāamboja princes unable to stand his valour in battle, bowed down along with *ānkola* [*akṣota*] trees, overpressed (overtasked) by the fastening chains of his elephants.⁶⁰³

In this verse, the Kāambojas are not able to withstand the invader and bow down before him together with the walnut trees afflicted by the war elephants. Although Raghu habitually binds his elephants to several trees during his conquest, the animals till now have not caused any damage. Furthermore, it is undisputedly paradoxical that the smaller sandal trees of the South resist the huge animals, whereas the enormous walnut trees come down. Thus, the response of the trees, just as that of the women, alludes to that hostile feeling with which Bactria was associated. On the other hand, in the light of the verses on women, the three different means of the description of the elephant-tree relationship can also be understood as a triad.

Kālidāsa finished the passage with the donations of the subservient Kāambojas: big heaps of treasures accompanied with horses come into the possession of the conqueror, just the rivers flow into the sea:

*teṣāṁ <Kāambojānām> sad-aśva-bhūyiṣṭhās tuṅgā draviṇa-rāśayah|
vivīṣus taṁ viśāṁ nātham udanvantam iv'āpagāḥ||*⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰¹ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.67.♦; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.67.♦.

⁶⁰² *Raghuvamśa* 4.72.

⁶⁰³ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 116.

⁶⁰⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 4.73.

Their stupendous heaps of gold, abounding with (abundantly accompanied with) fine horses, repeatedly found their way to the lord of the people just as the rivers to the ocean. (transl. with modifications)⁶⁰⁵

The idea to understand the treasures (*draviṇa*) as a regional characteristic similar to the horses, came from Buddha Prakash. Since he located the Kāmboja country in Badakhshan, he considered the *draviṇas* as an allusion to its famous silver mines at Andarab.⁶⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the importance of these mines has been attested only since the presence of the Arabs in the region. Furthermore, the Bactrian king, Euthydemus strived to import nickel from China, which would have been unnecessary if the Badakhshan mine had actually worked.⁶⁰⁷ Beside silver, Buddha Prakash also mentioned rubies, which makes more sense, since its mining started here under the Yuezhi.⁶⁰⁸

Although I am not as convinced about the Badakhshan-theory as Buddha Prakash, I do not consider his theory completely useless. It would be worth investigating whether the *draviṇas* were fitting characteristics in the case of Bactria as well.

The prosperity of Bactria actually stemmed from its excellent soil, while mining was fairly unknown in the early period.⁶⁰⁹ Considering the lack of mines, it seems contradictory that Bactria was conventionally associated with gold. This tradition, as Tarn pointed at, can be traced back to the Achaemenian periods.⁶¹⁰ According to him, the idea of the golden country originated from that mediator role, which was played by Bactria in the gold import commerce. To establish his standpoint, he pointed to the case of Egypt, which was considered as the home of silver in the same inscription,⁶¹¹ even though it certainly lacked this precious metal.⁶¹² In this way, whether the Kāmbojas inhabited Bactria or Badakhshan, their opulence could be as appropriate an attribute as their horses.

On the other hand, Raghu is eventually compared to the ocean. This simile perhaps points to the outcome of the conquest. When the young king started his *digvijaya*, he appeared as an overflowing river, which finally reached the sea here. In this manner,

⁶⁰⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 116. – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *upadā vivīśuḥ śaśvan n'ōtsekāḥ Kośal[^]eśvaram* instead of *vivīśus taṃ viśāṃ nātham udanvantam iv'āpagāḥ* in the second line of the verse, and translates it as follows: "Their stupendous heaps of gold...found their way (i. e. reached) the king of Kosala as presents, but conceit did not reach his soul."

⁶⁰⁶ PRAKASH 1956: 257.

⁶⁰⁷ TARN 1938: 104.

⁶⁰⁸ PRAKASH 1956: 257.

⁶⁰⁹ TARN 1938: 103.

⁶¹⁰ *Altp. Insch.* p. 132. § 10. AB•.

⁶¹¹ *Altp. Insch.* p. 132. § 11. AB•.

⁶¹² TARN 1938: 105.

Kālidāsa's ocean-simile is a very gentle way to express the transformation of the common Kosala king into a world emperor.

THE HIMĀLAYAN REGION

Subsequent to Bactria, the Himālaya appears as the next stage of Raghu's conquest. Though the longest description is dedicated to this region, its geographical determination does not lack difficulties. The Himālaya, as the highest mountain range on Earth, includes an enormous area from Northeast-Pakistan to Bhutan, a huge extent which in itself opens the door for the various ways of interpretation.

Besides, the mention of such mountain peoples as the Kirātas⁶¹³ as well as the Kiṃnaras causes further ambiguity.⁶¹⁴ Although both of these names, in fact, designated ethnic groups, they are also used in another, more general sense. The word *kirāta* also refers to all the hunting tribes of the Indian mountains,⁶¹⁵ while the *kiṃnaras* are identified with the horse-headed or bird-legged groups of the celestial beings.⁶¹⁶ In this way, it is crucial to examine, in which sense Kālidāsa may have used these words.

The way to regard them as real, existing communities was favoured by Buddha Prakash and Upadhyaya. Both of these scholars accepted the Badakhshan-theory about the location of the Kāmboja country,⁶¹⁷ and thus were convinced that Raghu crossed the Pamirs. In this manner, Buddha Prakash supposed that Raghu arrived in Khotan after the Pamirs, from where he returned through the Tibetan regions to the Peninsula. According to him, this route was, moreover, the same as Faxian's.⁶¹⁸

Upadhyaya, on the other hand, assumed that Raghu travelled along the valley of the Brahmaputra up to Prāgyotiṣa. Therefore, he imagined the people mentioned by Kālidāsa as several mountain tribes, whom he located between Ladakh and the Kailāsa.⁶¹⁹

The other way of thinking is represented by Sohoni.⁶²⁰ Contrary to the previous scholars, he proposed that neither the Kirātas nor the Kiṃnaras belonged to the defeated people, but they were as common features of the Himālayan landscape as its typical plants. His standpoint was mainly established on the basis of the *Kumārasaṃ-*

⁶¹³ *Raghuvamśa* 4.79.c.

⁶¹⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 4.81.d.

⁶¹⁵ BOPP 1847: 74.

⁶¹⁶ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 283.

⁶¹⁷ PRAKASH 1956: 256; UPADHYAYA 1947: 60–61.

⁶¹⁸ PRAKASH 1956: 258–260.

⁶¹⁹ UPADHYAYA 1947: 61–62.

⁶²⁰ SOHONI 1984: 167–169.

*bhava*⁶²¹ and the *Meghadūta*,⁶²² in the Himālaya descriptions of which these beings are, in the same way, represented, while the other ones are neglected.⁶²³

Sohoni probably recognised the fruitlessness of those efforts correctly, which attempted to restrict such obscure communities as the Kirātas and the Kiṃnaras to particular places. On the other hand, he did not give up identifying the area, about which Kālidāsa's verses were written, but he pointed out that only the two remaining communities, namely the Pārvatīyas and the Utsavasamketas, were relevant in the determination of the area.⁶²⁴

Still, before reviewing his theory, I would delineate shortly what the above cited scholars said about the Pārvatīyas. Upadhyaya did not actually pay much attention to them and regarded their name as a collective noun for all the listed mountain people.

Not agreeing with him, Buddha Prakash inferred their Tibetan origin from the *Mahābhārata*, in which they appear as participants at Yudhiṣṭhira's *rājasūya* and present him such products as yaks, honey, *ambu*-garland, and powerful herbs,⁶²⁵ which he associated with the Tibetan region.⁶²⁶

By all means, it is quite difficult to ignore that both of the scholars were deeply influenced by their own hypothesis about the Kirāta and the Kiṃnara country. The locations put forward by them were in this way confined to the neighbourhood of those places which they identified as the homelands of the Kirātas and the Kiṃnaras.

Although Sohoni avoided this speculation, he remained addicted to his own imaginative thinking. He did notice correctly that Kālidāsa's verse about the Pārvatīyas was probably inspired by an epic passage,⁶²⁷ in which these people were described in the same manner. However, he was not satisfied with this observation and attributed it key role in the identification of the Pārvatīyas. In this context, the epic mentions several tribes such as the Daradas, Khaśas, Taṅgaṇas, Ambaṣṭhas, and Kuṇindas,⁶²⁸ whom Sohoni interpreted as the groups of the Pārvatīyas. Among them, he regarded only the Taṅgaṇas as geographically relevant, which people he localised in the Kumāūṃ-Garh-vāl region. From this hypothesis, he straightforwardly came to the conclusion that all the Pārvatīyas inhabited this area.⁶²⁹

⁶²¹ *Kumārasambhava* 1.1–18.

⁶²² *Meghadūta* 50–63.

⁶²³ *Kumārasambhava* 1.6, 1.8, 1.15. (See p. 167–168, 169, 172.); *Meghadūta* 56.●.

⁶²⁴ SOHONI 1984: 169.

⁶²⁵ *Mahābhārata* 2.48.5–7●.

⁶²⁶ PRAKASH 1956: 259–260.

⁶²⁷ *Mahābhārata* 7.97.29–48.

⁶²⁸ *Mahābhārata* 7.97.39.c–40.b.

⁶²⁹ SOHONI 1984: 172–173.

Nevertheless, it is hard to understand why Sohoni disregarded the other, geographically likewise determinable peoples. Among them, the Ambaṣṭhas probably inhabited the northern part of the modern Sindh,⁶³⁰ while the homeland of the Daradas may correspond to Dardistan.⁶³¹ To connect all these people with the Kumāūṃ-Garhvāl region seems, therefore, obviously untenable.

Yet, the *Sabhāparvan* provides useful information to find a relationship among these hill tribes occurring in the same verse. According to it, the Khaśas, the Kuṇindas, and the Taṅgaṇas (or Ṭaṅkaṇas) inhabited the valley of the Śailodā⁶³² (commonly identified with the Jaxartes),⁶³³ which, at once, implies the refutability of Sohoni's theory, since all these tribes including the Ambaṣṭhas as well as the Daradas should be found in the far North.

However, the real question is whether the Pārvatīyas of the *Raghuvamśa* were really identical with them as Sohoni assumed. Had he investigated the remaining epic references carefully, the untenability of this claim, in my opinion, would have been self-evident for him.

The above cited extract from the *Sabhāparvan*, though, does mention the Pārvatīyas, and connects them with the neighbourhood of the Śvetaparvata (literally White Mountain), which location separates them from the previous peoples.⁶³⁴

Besides, the main difficulty with Sohoni's theory is that he, just like Buddha Prakash and Upadhyaya, insists on regarding the Pārvatīyas as hill tribes. Although their name actually implies this understanding, it is quite difficult to maintain considering that the epic sources mention the Pārvatīya horses among the most excellent ones.⁶³⁵ Instead of hill tribes, therefore, my suggestion is to regard them as civilised people at the feet of the mountains. Thus, the word Pārvatīya refers here to the inhabitants of a country by the name of Parvata.

However, it seems difficult to accept that such a common word as *parvata* (mountain) would have been used for a concrete place. Furthermore, hill people, in other words *pārvatīyas*, are present everywhere on the Peninsula. Still, there are quite a few references which strongly suggest not to give up the idea of the Parvata country.

Among others, we read in the *Mahābhārata* that Saṃvaraṇa, the head of the Bhāratas fled westward from the attack of the Pāṇcālas. As a result, the Bhāratas lived in the thickets of the Indus for a long time, which extended up to the Nadīviṣaya (which

⁶³⁰ DEY 1979: 6.

⁶³¹ DEY 1979: 53.

⁶³² *Mahābhārata* 2.25.6.*12.74–79, 2.48.2–3•.

⁶³³ DEY 1979: 172.

⁶³⁴ *Mahābhārata* 2.25.6.*12.95.•.

⁶³⁵ *Mahābhārata* 2.47.6.*33.22, 7.35.36, 7.97.26; *Rāmāyaṇa* 2.65.10.

seems to be identical with Pañjāb) and was situated in the neighbourhood of Parvata.⁶³⁶ In this context it also seems to signify a concrete geographical location.

Besides, the memory of the country by the name of Parvata is also found in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.⁶³⁷ If we give credit to Agrawala's interpretation, it explains why several martial communities were known as Pārvatīyas, even though they lived outside the mountains. The ancestors of these people had migrated from a mountainous area, the memory of which was conserved in their designation.⁶³⁸ In this way, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* gives an additional argument to detect the Pārvatīya country outside the mountains.

Parvata also occurs as a sovereign state in some literary works covering historical themes. As we read in Viśākhadatta's drama, the *Mudrārākṣasa*, the chief of Parvata was a prominent ally of Candragupta Maurya.⁶³⁹ The Jain author, Uddyotana Sūri, on the other hand, associated the place with the Hun king, Toramāṇa in his *campū* entitled *Kuvalayamālā*.⁶⁴⁰

Beside the literary sources, there are, moreover, some historical documents which likewise support the proposition of the Pārvatīya country. Among the Chinese travellers, Xuanzang reported about a place by the name of Bofaduo, which might correspond to the Sanskrit Parvata.⁶⁴¹

The word, as proper noun, on the other hand, occurs in two Brāhmī inscriptions of the Bāndhavgarh caves (XV, XVII), which were installed by a merchant from Pavata (Parvata) called Phagu (Phalgu).⁶⁴²

Having thus established the idea of place called Parvata, the next task is obviously to find the country which complies with all the above collected descriptions. There have been some attempts to locate it in the northern part of Pañjāb.⁶⁴³ Perhaps it was Xuanzang's travelogue,⁶⁴⁴ which motivated Nando Lal Dey to pinpoint it more exactly to the northwest from the modern Multān.⁶⁴⁵ This view is, moreover, supported by the above mentioned *Kuvalayamālā*-quotation, which locates Parvata at the Cenāb River.

⁶³⁶ *Mahābhārata* 1.89.33–35•.

⁶³⁷ *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 4.3.90–91•.

⁶³⁸ AGRAWALA 1953: 434.

⁶³⁹ *Mudrārākṣasa* p. 124. l. 7–8•.

⁶⁴⁰ *Kuvalayamālā* 430. p. 282. l. 6•.

⁶⁴¹ BEAL 2001b: 275.

⁶⁴² *EI Vol. 31*. No. 23. p. 184–185 – Furthermore, the allusion to a certain Parvata is also found in one of the Ghaṭiyālā inscriptions attributed to a Pratihāra chief called Kakkuka. Nevertheless, in this latter case, it is not obvious, whether the epigraph speaks about an independent state or about a geographical spot inside of Lāṭa. (*EI Vol. 9*. No. 38.1. p. 280. l. 13.).

⁶⁴³ CHAKRAVARTI 1955–1956: 170.

⁶⁴⁴ Xuanzang's account mentions Bofaduo just after Maoluosanbulu corresponding to Multān which evidently indicates that they were neighbours. (BEAL 2001b: 274–275).

⁶⁴⁵ DEY 1979: 150.

Yet, before accepting this identification, we should return to the *Mahābhārata* and take its many references to the Pārvatīyas into consideration. According to these, they are associated with Śakuni, the evil uncle of the Kauravas, under whose command they took part in the Great War.⁶⁴⁶ Therefore, Śakuni himself is also often mentioned by the name of Pārvatīya.⁶⁴⁷ Because he was, on the other hand, known as Gāndhārārāja (the king of Gandhāra),⁶⁴⁸ it seems plausible to regard the word Pārvatīya in some cases as a synonym for Gāndhāra.

To establish further this view, I would first refer to Yudhiṣṭhira's *rājasūya*, in which the Greeks (Yavanas) also took part and gave Pārvatīya horses to the young king.⁶⁴⁹ Since the Greek presence is attested in the ancient Gandhāra, the word Pārvatīya may have served in this context as a synonym for Gāndhāra again.

A similar usage of the word is also discernible in the epic enumerations about the best horses, which mention the Pārvatīya ones but omit the Gāndhāras.⁶⁵⁰ Because the latter country was evidently famous for horse breeding,⁶⁵¹ it looks likely that the Pārvatīya name serves as its synonym again.

In spite of the many correspondences, the exact link between the Gāndhāras and the Pārvatīyas is still not without doubts. Although Śakuni is called both Gāndhāra and Pārvatīya king, in his army the Gāndhāras and the Pārvatīyas are occasionally separated.⁶⁵²

The works of the foreign authors do not present a clear picture either. Among them, Strabo's geographical account differentiates three autonomous countries inside the historical Gandhāra. The region between the Indus and the Jhelam (Hydaspes, Ὑδάσπις) was ruled by Taxiles (Ταξιλῆς), the next one from the Jhelam to the Cenāb (Acesines, Ἀκεσίνης) belonged to Poros (Πῶρος), and the last one bordered by the Cenāb and the Ravi (Hydraotes, Ὑδραωτης) forming the kingdom of the second Poros. Although this whole region corresponds to the extended Gandhāra-concept, Strabo maintained that only the dependents of the second Poros were Gāndhāras.⁶⁵³

⁶⁴⁶ *Mahābhārata* 6.20.8, 7.19.11, 8.4.96.

⁶⁴⁷ *Mahābhārata* 2.56.10, 3.35.3, 5.30.27a, 6.46.55*5.36.

⁶⁴⁸ *Mahābhārata* 3.227.21.c, 3.297.5, 5.2.5, 5.29.39.a, 5.30.27.a, 5.92.49.a, 5.196.7.a, 6.20.8.cd, 6.46.55*5.37, 7.33.20.a, 7.36.24.b, 7.165.75.a, 8.4.96, 8.5.92, 8.53.6.cd, 8.67.5, 8.68.13*43.88–89, 9.3.2*1.73–74, 9.22.28–29, 11.24.21.a.

⁶⁴⁹ *Mahābhārata* 2.47.6.*33.22.●.

⁶⁵⁰ *Mahābhārata* 7.35.36–39, 7.97.26.●.

⁶⁵¹ *Harivaṃśa* 23.132.cd●; *Mahābhārata* 7.6.3, 9.27.43.●.

⁶⁵² *Mahābhārata* 6.20.8.cd, 7.19.11.cd, 8.31.12–13.

⁶⁵³ JONES 1930: 51–53.

Thus, his concept of Gandhāra is more limited than that of the epics because the country of Taxiles is evidently centred on Takṣaśīlā (Taxila), which the *Rāmāyaṇa* regards as a part of Gandhāra.⁶⁵⁴

On the other hand, the Pauravas are generally associated with the two Poroses.⁶⁵⁵ Although the Greek form of the word does suggest this association, I am quite sceptical about their identification with Pūru's noble lineage. It could be pointed out instead that there is an epic hero called Paurava, who seems to be independent from the Pūrus, and who is, moreover, depicted as the chief of the Pārvatīyas.⁶⁵⁶ In this way, the name Poros also can allude to the Pārvatīya presence in Gandhāra.

A similar picture is outlined about the region in the Chinese sources. Faxian differentiates three independent states, namely Gandhāra, Takṣaśīlā, and Puruṣapura inside the greater Gandhāra.⁶⁵⁷ Xuanzang, on the other hand, describes the Indus as the main border line. In his opinion, Gandhāra including Puruṣapura is found on its Western side,⁶⁵⁸ while Takṣaśīlā is on the other side.⁶⁵⁹

In this way, the idea of Gandhāra as a determinable geographical area seems almost as uncertain as the Pārvatīya country. This observation at once means that we should give up here to establish an exact connection between the Pārvatīyas and Gandhāra. However, if we set aside the geographical interpretation and consider it as a cultural unit, Dey's definition about Gandhāra comprising a spacious area from the Kabul river to North-Paṇjāb seems fairly supportable.⁶⁶⁰

I think that enough evidence has been presented to be sure that it was the region to which the Pārvatīyas belonged. The idea to identify Raghu's following station with Gandhāra, on the other hand, seems quite reasonable, since people arrive there if they traverse the mountains from Bactria.

Aside from the Pārvatīyas, Kālidāsa associated another community, namely the Ut-savaṣaṃketas, with the region. However, their determination is even more difficult than that of the Pārvatīyas. There are only a few scholars, who ventured to identify them somewhere.

⁶⁵⁴ *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.91.9–10•.

⁶⁵⁵ KULKE – ROTHERMUND 2002: 57.

⁶⁵⁶ *Mahābhārata* 2.24.14•.

⁶⁵⁷ LEGGE 1886: 32–36.

⁶⁵⁸ BEAL 2001a: 97.

⁶⁵⁹ BEAL 2001a: 136.

⁶⁶⁰ DEY 1979: 60.

It seems that the earliest one of them was Pargiter. He described the Utsavasamketas as a group of people in which the institution of marriage was unknown and sexual intercourse was unregulated.⁶⁶¹

Pargiter's idea was picked up by Upadhyaya, who elaborated a concrete theory about the homeland of the Utsavasamketas. He was convinced that the memory of such a way of life as described by Pargiter still exists among the people of the modern Kinnaur district, whom he incidentally identified with Kālidāsa's Kiṃnaras. Nevertheless, he had to confront the fact that Kālidāsa had spoken about the Kiṃnaras and the Utsavasamketas as clearly different groups. Therefore, to solve the contradiction, Upadhyaya understood them as two distinct communities of the same area.⁶⁶²

Sohoni, on the other hand, was quite certain in the identification of the Utsavasamketas with the Nepalese people. His theory was mainly based on his personal impression, according to which no other country had more festivals (*utsava*) than Nepal, so their people could be named as Utsavasamketas.⁶⁶³

Beyond these fanciful ideas, it is Altekar's proposition that is really worth taking into consideration. He remarked that the historical fact that the Mālava *gaṇas* had lived next to the Uttamabhadras in Rājasthān corresponded to the *Digvijayaparvan*, where the Utsavasamketas occurred in the place of the Uttamabhadras. In this way, Altekar regarded the two folk names as synonyms for each other.⁶⁶⁴

However, he just brought up the idea, he did not enlarge on it. Thus, he neglected that the Utsavasamketas actually occur twice in the *Digvijayaparvan*. First, they appear just after the defeat of the Pārvatīyas in the North, and then they come into view again among the desert peoples as the occupants of Puṣkarāraṇya. Thus, it seems that the Utsavasamketas moved westward from North just as the Mālavas.

Besides, it is also striking that the place of the Mālavas is filled by the Pārvatīyas in the account of the North. According to Mayrhofer's outstanding dictionary, the name "Mālava" may come from the word *maru* (desert), which is thus an allusion to the homeland of these people.⁶⁶⁵ However, the Mālavas may have initially inhabited the southern part of Pañjāb outside the desert area,⁶⁶⁶ which suggests that Mayrhofer's idea might have to be revised.

Another popular idea in connection with the etymology of the word attributes to it a Dravidian origin. Because the word is found many times in the form of Mālāya, it is

⁶⁶¹ PARGITER 1904: 319.

⁶⁶² UPADHYAYA 1947: 62.

⁶⁶³ SOHONI 1984: 175–179.

⁶⁶⁴ ALTEKAR 1947–1948: 259.n.

⁶⁶⁵ MAYRHOFFER 1996: 321–322.

⁶⁶⁶ JAIN 1972: 4–6.

an obvious thought to connect it with the Dravidian word Malai. Although the word Malai is actually identical with the South-Indian mountain known as Malaya in Sanskrit sources, it has a more general meaning in the Dravidian language, namely “mountain”.⁶⁶⁷ The ancient Mālayas originally were hill-dwelling in other words *pārvatīya* people, if we take the word in this sense. Thus, the Mālayas inhabited the mountainous area once, but their name changed into Mālava after they reached the desert in consequence of a presumed folk etymology. Because of the lack of adequate evidences, however, this train of thought should not be regarded more than a simple guess.

Another possible way of interpretation could be presented as follows. It is remarkable that the *Mahābhārata* always mentions the Utsavaśaṃketas together with the term *gaṇa* referring to a kind of social institution.⁶⁶⁸ This association was, moreover, so strong that it influenced the Southern commentators to read *pārvatīyair gaṇair abhūt* instead of *Pārvatīyair abhūd Raghoḥ*.⁶⁶⁹ This alteration at once provided them with the possibility to identify the Utsavaśaṃketas with the Pārvatīyas.⁶⁷⁰

On the other hand, the only three epic occurrences of the Utsavaśaṃketas⁶⁷¹ are obviously insufficient to identify them, but the examination of the usage of the word *gaṇa* might be helpful. Those instances of the word should be considered, where it is joined with the names of ethnic groups. Among them, most appearances are evidently connected with the Saṃśaptakas, the people of Trigarta.⁶⁷²

The Traigartakas helped the Kauravas in the Great War under the command of the five brothers.⁶⁷³ However, it should not be neglected that there was another branch of the Traigartakas headed by two chiefs.⁶⁷⁴ In this way, the community of Trigarta actually consisted of seven branches, to which feature the name “Saṃśaptaka” could allude, since it is also found in the form of Saṃśaptaka (“something characterised by the number seven”).⁶⁷⁵ The link to the Utsavaśaṃketas is found here, because the *Mahābhārata* reports about the seven *gaṇas* of the Utsavaśaṃketas.⁶⁷⁶ Thus, it would also be feasible to equal them with the Saṃśaptakas.

⁶⁶⁷ SIRCAR 1969: 3.

⁶⁶⁸ *Mahābhārata* 2.24.15.c, 2.29.8.a.

⁶⁶⁹ *Raghuvamśa* *Ned* 4.77.

⁶⁷⁰ ARUNAGIRINĀTHA, NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.76.♦; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.77.♦.

⁶⁷¹ *Mahābhārata* 2.24.15.c, 2.29.8.a, 6.10.59.c.

⁶⁷² *Mahābhārata* 7.17.31.b, 7.18.1.b, 7.18.2.b, 7.19.2.b, 7.32.15.b, 8.4.38.d, 8.9.8.c, 8.12.3.a, 8.19.19.b, 8.19.35.b, 8.37.17.b, 8.37.33.c, 8.40.78.d, 8.40.80.ab, 8.40.92.c, 8.43.77.b, 9.7.30.c.

⁶⁷³ *Mahābhārata* 5.161.8.cd, 5.163.9–11.

⁶⁷⁴ *Mahābhārata* 5.56.18.

⁶⁷⁵ *Mahābhārata* 18.5.23*28.7.

⁶⁷⁶ *Mahābhārata* 2.24.15.cd♦.

This way of interpretation, nevertheless, can also be argued against. The *Digvijayaparvan* distinguishes the Utsavasamketas and the Traigartakas clearly from each other,⁶⁷⁷ though it does not refer to the Saṃsaptakas. On the other hand, even though the oneness of the Saṃsaptakas and the Traigartakas seems in many cases obvious,⁶⁷⁸ it can sometimes be questioned.⁶⁷⁹ Consequently, I think that these three communities were probably of the same group, but the exact connections among them does not seem to be determined so far.

The meeting of the emperors

The Himālaya is in some ways different from the previous stations of Raghu's campaign. First, the mountain range does not only belong to the barbarian world but also to the heavenly one. Though here we shall examine it from the first mentioned aspect, the ambivalence connected with the region cannot be completely overlooked.

Besides, the foregoing stations are mainly characterised by the manifold roles in which the conqueror appears. But now Raghu, having become universal emperor, apparently does not need to assume any new roles, and therefore, the main feature of the Himālayan scene is exactly the omission of such roles.

The first word by which the poet refers to the new stage is *guru*, a reverential title which immediately conveys the personification of the landscape:

tato Gaurī-gurum sailam āruroha sa-sāadhanah <Raghu>|
*vardhayann iva tat-kūṭān uddhatair dhātu-reṇubhiḥ||*⁶⁸⁰

Then he with his army, ascended the mountain (Himavat), the sire of Gaurī, extending his peaks, as it were, by the dust of minerals raised up (by the hoofs of the horses). (transl. with modifications)⁶⁸¹

Since the Himālaya is regularly imagined as a king in Kālidāsa's poetry, Raghu's entrance appears as the beginning of a royal gathering rather than a battle. The Himālaya is, moreover, introduced as Gaurīguru (Gaurī's father), which keeps the celestial character of the place in mind as well.⁶⁸²

⁶⁷⁷ *Mahābhārata* 2.24.15–17.

⁶⁷⁸ *Mahābhārata* 7.17.1–31.

⁶⁷⁹ *Mahābhārata* 7.26.10–11, 8.19.2, 9.2.34.cf.

⁶⁸⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 4.74.

⁶⁸¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 117. – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *āruroh'āśva-sāadhanah* instead of *sa-sāadhanah* in the second *pāda* of the verse, and translates it as follows: "Then he with his army of horses..."

⁶⁸² According to Buddha Prakash, the name Gaurīguru stands for the Pamirs. (PRAKASH 1956: 258.).

Thus, if we wanted to summarise the whole account, the mutual recognition between the Himālaya and Raghu would be mentioned as its most characteristic feature. When Raghu reaches the mountains, his army as usual raises dust. In this case, however, it does not pollute the conquered area, but serves to increase the glory of the Himālaya even more, since the mountain seems to be even taller in consequence of the dust cloud. Furthermore, the rising dust containing various minerals (*dhātu*) also embodies the gifts of the approaching Raghu.

Incidentally, the southern commentators together with Jināsamudra read *āruroh'āśva-sādhanaḥ* instead of *āruroha sa-sādhanaḥ*⁶⁸³ and they came forth with a peculiar view, according to which only Raghu's cavalry ascended the mountains. On the basis of Hemādri's and Mallinātha's interpretation, the alteration seems to be motivated by the general experience that dust clouds are produced, when the horses gallop.⁶⁸⁴ The Keralan scholars, on the other hand, expressed their uncertainty that Raghu counted exclusively on the cavalymen during the Himālayan march. They explained the expression *āśva-sādhanaḥ* as referring to such a person in whose army the cavalry was the main force.⁶⁸⁵

After the introductory verse, the Himālayan lions come into view:

praśamsaṃ <Raghuḥ> tulya-sattvānāṃ sainya-ghoṣe 'py a-sambhramam|
*guhā-gatānāṃ śiṃhānāṃ parivṛtṭy'āvalokitam||*⁶⁸⁶

He was praising the gaze (after) turning round, of the lions, of equal strength, lying in dens, which was fearless even in the army din. (transl. with modifications)⁶⁸⁷

They, just like in European culture, are regarded as the kings of animals in India.⁶⁸⁸ However, we should keep in mind that these lions, though they imitate Raghu, are unable to come up to him. This time, the conqueror has already exceeded the rank of the local kings imagined as lions, and he has become the single emperor, whose true counterpart can only be the Himālaya. Accordingly, Raghu, as a righteous *cakravartin*, does not annoy the lions, but he praises their efforts.

⁶⁸³ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.70; HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.71; JINĀSAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.77; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.71; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.70.

⁶⁸⁴ HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.74.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.71.●.

⁶⁸⁵ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.70.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.70.●.

⁶⁸⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.75.

⁶⁸⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 117. – Nandargikar reads *śaśaṃsa* instead of *praśamsaṃ* in the first *pāda* of the verse, and translates it as follows: "The gaze... bespoke lack of fear (fearlessness) even at (though there was) the army din."

⁶⁸⁸ KARTTUNEN 2009: 431.

A kind of reversal of this poetic image is, incidentally, found in the sixth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*, which is dedicated at length to the theme of the royal gathering. Kālidāsa, in this case, compares Aja climbing the stairs onto the dais to a lion cub which reaches the top of a mountain jumping from rock to rock.⁶⁸⁹ The stairs are imagined hence as rocks, because both of them are inlaid with valuable gems. Although it is not made explicit by the poet, it seems obvious that the royal participants embody the lions here, since the youngest one of them is described as a cub.

Returning to the fourth canto, the following verse describes the generous reception of Raghu:

bhūrjeṣu marmarī-bhūtāḥ kīcaka-dhvani-hetavaḥ|
*Gaṅgā-śikariṇo mārge marutas taṃ <Raghum> siṣevire||*⁶⁹⁰

The breezes, rustled on among the dry leaves of birch trees, the source of resounding of the wild bamboos, and charged with the particles of water of the river Gangā, refreshed (lit. served) him on the way.⁶⁹¹

This time, I agree with the remark of the Keralan commentators, according to whom the formerly hostile winds appear as dutiful servants before the honourable guest.⁶⁹² Thus, there are three types of service attributed to them which may correspond to several elements of the king's reception.

First, the winds serving Raghu are said to be *Gaṅgā-śikariṇaḥ*. The interpretation of this expression slightly divided the commentators. According to Mallinātha, the winds were cool because of the Ganges.⁶⁹³ For him, being born in South-India, the coldness of the winds was associated with positive emotions, and therefore, he may have found it quite fitting for the verb of the sentence (to serve).

Although a cold wind can be really pleasant in the South Indian summer, it probably would not be welcome in the home of eternal frost. Therefore, I rather agree with Vallabhadeva's and Hemādri's standpoint, who maintained that the winds were sprinkling the water of the Ganges.⁶⁹⁴ If this is true, what kind of service it is? My guess is that the drizzle of the winds functions as an *arghya* presented by the Himālaya, since the water offering for an arriving person is one of the most elemental parts of the guest reception in India. On the other hand, the fact that the most sacred Ganges water is used for such a reception points at the excellence of both the arriving guest and the host.

⁶⁸⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 6.3.●.

⁶⁹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 4.76.

⁶⁹¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 117.

⁶⁹² ARUNAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.72.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.72.●.

⁶⁹³ MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.73.●.

⁶⁹⁴ HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.76.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.76.●.

Besides, the winds amuse Raghu by music. On the one hand, they, touching the birches, manifest themselves as a murmuring sound, on the other hand they blow the hollows of the bamboos.

After Raghu's respectful reception, there are three verses dedicated to describing Raghu's army occupying the mountains. Here, Kālidāsa presents the well-known elements of the Himālaya-descriptions and connects them in the usual manner to the parts of the army.

First, the Himālayan stones perfumed by the musk deer appear to serve as couches for Raghu's exhausted warriors:

viśāśramur namerūṇāṃ chāyāsv adhyāsya sainikāb|
*dr̥ṣado vāsitaṅgaṃ niṣaṇṇa-mṛga-nābhībhiḥ||*⁶⁹⁵

The soldiers reposed (rested) in the shade of *nameru* trees, seated on stone slabs the surface whereof was perfumed with the navel (musk) of the recumbent deer.⁶⁹⁶

As we have seen many times, the theme of the relaxing soldiers is a recurrent motif in the *digvijaya* description, however, the position of this verse is slightly unwonted now. Previously, such verses concluded the several stages of the conquest, but there has been no mention of war here. Thus, the conduct of the soldiers probably serves as an additional example for the hospitality of the Himālaya.

Beside the musk, the *nameru* trees also occur in the verse. The shadow yielded by them also provides comfort for the soldiers. About these plants, however, there is not much information. In connection with them Mayrhofer's dictionary mentions a possible Khotanese parallel, namely *namer* (mistletoe),⁶⁹⁷ which is, nevertheless, a too distant counterpart to be used in our case.

Among the classical commentators, on the other hand, only the southern ones attempted to determine these trees and identified them with the *surapumṇāgas*. However, it should be also considered how far we can lean on the southern scholars, if we want to get acquainted with a Himālayan plant. In any case, a mediaeval *āyurvedic* work, the *Rājanighaṇṭu*, though describing the *nameru* and the *surapumṇāga* separately, groups them into the same category, the constituents of which possess the features of the *pum-nāga*.⁶⁹⁸ In this way, the *nameru* could have strong fragrance, since the *pum-nāgas* were formerly described as sweet-scented trees.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 4.77.

⁶⁹⁶ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 118.

⁶⁹⁷ MAYRHOFFER 2001: 283.

⁶⁹⁸ *Rājanighaṇṭu* 10.35.●.

⁶⁹⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.59. (See p. 65.).

The widely used dictionaries such as Böhtlingk's and Monier-Williams', on the other hand, regard both *nameru* and *surapumṇāga* as synonym for the well-known *rudrākṣa* tree (*Elaeocarpus ganitrus*).⁷⁰⁰ This way of interpretation is fairly well supported by the *Himavatkhanda* of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, which defines the *rudrākṣa* as the fruit of the *nameru*.⁷⁰¹

In any case, whether the *nameru*'s fruits are the *rudrākṣas* or not, their strong affinity with Śiva seems, by all means, established. According to the *Kumārasambhava*, Śiva's *gaṇas* wear *nameru* flowers as diadems.⁷⁰² Furthermore, the place where the great deity did penance is also described as being fenced by *nameru* branches,⁷⁰³ and moreover, scented by musk.⁷⁰⁴

Aside from the soldiers, Raghu's elephants also receive a special form of welcome from the Himālaya:

saralā-sakta-mātaṅga-graivey^ôpacita-tviṣaḥ|
*āsann oṣadhayo netur <Raghoḥ> naktam a-sneha-dīpikāḥ||*⁷⁰⁵

The herbs that were near and the lustre of which was reflected on the neck-tie-chains of elephants tied to the Sarala-trees, served the purpose of lamps without oil at night to the leader of the army.⁷⁰⁶

The *sarala* and the *devadāru* trees appear as their poles, against the barks of which animals like to rub their skins in Kālidāsa's works.⁷⁰⁷ On the other hand, the verse yields an additional example for the fruitful collaboration between Raghu and the Himālaya. The famous fluorescent plants of the mountains are normally imagined as lamps for the forest-dwellers.⁷⁰⁸ In this case, however, their tiny lights are magnified by the mirroring surface of the elephant collars, and thus, they become able to serve the illustrious guest.

Apart from their friendly service, the *devadāru* trees uncover the other, less agreeable face of the Himālaya in the following verse:

⁷⁰⁰ BÖHTLINGK – ROTH 1865: 51, 1875: 1108; MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 528, 1234.

⁷⁰¹ *Skanda-purāṇa Himavatkhanda* 11.122.●.

⁷⁰² *Kumārasambhava* 1.54.●.

⁷⁰³ *Kumārasambhava* 3.43.●.

⁷⁰⁴ *Kumārasambhava* 4.53.●.

⁷⁰⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 4.78.

⁷⁰⁶ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 118.

⁷⁰⁷ *Kumārasambhava* 1.9. (See p. 169.); *Meghadūta* 104.●; *Raghuvamśa* 2.37.●.

⁷⁰⁸ *Kumārasambhava* 1.10. (See p. 169.).

<Raghoḥ> tasy'āvāseṣu dān^ārdrair gaṇḍa-bhitti-vighaṭṭanaiḥ|
gaja-varṣma kirātebhyaḥ śaśaṃsur devadāravah||⁷⁰⁹

In his camps, the *devadāru* trees, [with their barks], which were wet by elephants' rut juice and rubbed by their cheeks, declared to the Kirātas the stature of his elephants. (transl. with modifications)⁷¹⁰

The fact that the *devadāru* trees are smeared by the elephants' rut juice provides information about the tallness of Raghu's elephants for the Kirātas. The appearance of the despised mountain tribes, in this way, breaks the idyllic atmosphere of the landscape.

If we recollect the geographical reconstruction proposed above, the presence of the tribes, moreover, indicates Raghu's descent from the Himālaya, more accurately from the Hindu Kush, since they inhabited the lower ranges of the mountains. In this way, after a moment of bliss the topic of war returns in the following two verses:

vimardah saha tais tatra Pārvatīyair abhūd Raghoḥ|
nārāca-kṣepaṇīy^āśma-niṣpeṣ^ōtpatit^ānalah||
śarair Utsavaśaṃketān sa kṛtvā kara-dān kṛtī|
jay^ōdāharaṇaṃ bāhvor gāpayām āsa kinnarān||⁷¹¹

There a fierce battle ensued between Raghu and the mountain-tribes [or Pārvatīyas], in which fire flashed forth by the concussion of *nārāca* darts, and the stones flung by means of slings.

After having caused with his arrows the Utsavaśaṃketas to pay tribute, the virtuous [Raghu] made the Kinnaras chant a declaratory song of his victory won by dint of his arms. (transl. with modifications)⁷¹²

Sohoni was probably right when he deduced the influence of the *Mahābhārata* here.⁷¹³ This way of interpretation is suggested by the fact that both texts emphasise the acquaintance of the Pārvatīyas with the so-called *āśma-yuddha* ("stone fight"), the typical device of which is the *kṣepaṇīya*.

⁷⁰⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.79.

⁷¹⁰ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 118–119 – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *tasy'ōtsṛṣṭa-nivāseṣu kaṇṭha-rajjū-kṣata-tvacah* instead of *tasy'āvāseṣu dān^ārdrair gaṇḍa-bhitti-vighaṭṭanaiḥ* in the first line of the verse, and translates it as follows: "In his abandoned halting stations, the *devadāru* trees, with their barks torn by neck-tie-ropes, declared..."

⁷¹¹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.80–81.

⁷¹² NANDARGIKAR 1971: 119. – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *virat^ōtsavān* instead of *kara-dān kṛtī* in the second *pāda* of the second verse, and translates it as follows: "After having caused with his arrows the Utsavaśaṃketas to be of splendid of gayeties, he made the Kinnaras..."

⁷¹³ SOHONI 1984: 172.

On the basis of the *Yādavakośa*, Mallinātha maintained that this term signified a sling-like weapon (*bhindipāla*).⁷¹⁴ This identification would be fairly appropriate, if we regarded the Pārvatīyas as tribes.

Since this way of interpretation was questioned above, the other possibility presented by Vallabhadeva seems to be more plausible. He glossed the word as *yantra*,⁷¹⁵ which may possibly allude to a kind of catapult.⁷¹⁶ Such a siege engine more likely belonged to a civilised culture rather than to a tribal one.

After the Pārvatīyas, the Utsavasamketas are forced to pay tax to Raghu. The verse was changed remarkably during its transmission. As a result, we find the reading *vi-rat^ôtsavān* instead of the *kara-dān* in all recensions except Vallabhadeva's,⁷¹⁷ which means that Raghu divests the Utsavasamketas of their festivals. This reading, however, seems secondary because the oldest manuscript supports Vallabhadeva's reading. On the other hand, the enrichment of the verses is a well-known form of alteration employed by the transmitters.⁷¹⁸

The pictures of the war are concluded by the paean sung by the *kiṃnaras*. These celestial beings are connected closely to the Himālaya, which at once indicates the re-occurrence of the highland. Since the final spot of this stage is Mount Kailāsa, it is reasonable to suppose that Raghu, having left Pañjāb, turned eastward.

Finally, there remain two verses to conclude the passage:

parasparasya vijñātas teṣ'ūpāyana-pāṇiṣu|
rājñā Himavataḥ sāro rājñāḥ sāro Him^âdrinā||
tatr'ākṣobhyaṃ yaśo-rāśim niveśy'avaruroha saḥ <Raghuḥ>|
*Paulastya-tulitasy'âdrer ādadāna iva hriyam||*⁷¹⁹

When they came with presents in their hands to the king his strength (prowess) became known to the great mountain Himavat, and its strength (consisting of wealth) to the king mutually.

⁷¹⁴ MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.77.

⁷¹⁵ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.80.

⁷¹⁶ GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: 360.

⁷¹⁷ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.77; HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.78; JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.84; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.78; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.77; ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 85.^v

⁷¹⁸ GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: 360–361.

⁷¹⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.82–83.

After having established there an irrefragable mass of glory, he descended, taking away the shame of the mountain uplifted (moved, dislodged) by the son of Pulastya. (transl. with modifications)⁷²⁰

The first one is an appropriate ending for the section saying that Raghu and the Himālaya have mutually learnt the magnitude of each other, while the second one referring to the Kailāsa already indicates the direction of Raghu's moving forward from the Himālaya.

According to this verse, Raghu deposits his fame on the mountain, by which he releases the Kailāsa from its shame. Kālidāsa describes the Kailāsa as the mountain which was lifted by Rāvaṇa. In this manner, it is not surprising that the commentators commonly associated the Kailāsa's shame with this event.

Among them, Vallabhadeva suggested that the Kailāsa felt ashamed because Rāvaṇa was able to lift it up. In this way, Raghu's fame (*yaśas*) increased the weight of the mountain to avoid such an awkward situation in the future.⁷²¹

Mallinātha and the Keralan scholars read *ādadhāna* in the place of *ādadāna*, and thus regarded Raghu as the cause of the shame, since his glory was immovable in contrast to the mountain lifted by Rāvaṇa.⁷²²

Another way of alteration was followed by Jinasamudra and Śrīnātha, both of whom read *śriyam* (glory) in the place of *briyam* and thus got completely rid of the problem of explaining the Kailāsa's shame, and maintained that Raghu achieved the glory here attributed to the sacred peak.⁷²³

To summarise, the primary reading may be preserved in the Kashmirian recension, since it was probably felt obscure and was apparently modified in two different ways in the other versions. Nevertheless, even Vallabhadeva's explanation does not seem sufficient to convince me that he understood the verse correctly.

I have two objections against his interpretation. First, Vallabhadeva assumed that Raghu's fame (*yaśas*) was heavy. However, this claim is quite unusual, since the main characteristic of fame is whiteness,⁷²⁴ and not heaviness. On the other hand, it should be considered whether it would be actually shameful for a mountain if it were raised?

⁷²⁰ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 119–120 – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *ādadhāna* instead of *ādadāna* in the fourth *pāda* of the second verse, and translates it as follows: "...he descended, causing shame, as it were, to (hurling shame, as it were upon) the mountain uplifted (moved, dislodged) by the son of Pulastya."

⁷²¹ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.83.●.

⁷²² ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.79.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.80.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.79.●.

⁷²³ JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.86.●; ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 85.▼.

⁷²⁴ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* 15. p. 83.●.

Mountains are moveable in Indian mythology. Rāvaṇa was not the only one, who lifted a mountain, such deeds were also performed by Kṛṣṇa⁷²⁵ and Hanumān.⁷²⁶

To understand the verse, therefore, I suggest to investigate the myth which inspired it. The earliest occurrence of the legend is found in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁷²⁷ where the journey of Puṣpaka, Rāvaṇa's flying palace, was obstructed by a mountain (later identified with Kailāsa),⁷²⁸ which was inaccessible (*a-gamya*) for all creatures.

Because of the hindrance, Rāvaṇa decided to lift the mountain. This act at once disturbed Śiva and Pārvatī, who were playing on its top. Therefore, the great deity pressed down the trembling mountain with his toe. As a result, Rāvaṇa started to roar under the enormous weight. His penance, however, pleased Śiva, who finally gave him a boon. In this way, the *Uttarakāṇḍa* concentrates on representing Śiva's kindness to Rāvaṇa which, incidentally, became a quite favoured topic in Śaiva iconography from the Gupta age.⁷²⁹ Nevertheless, the epic version of the story alone is not sufficient to understand the image.

In spite of the many sculptural depictions, we do not abound in written sources covering the legend, though there are some fragmentary references which recount what happened to the Kailāsa.

Among them, the Pallava inscription at the "Gaṇeśa" temple of Mahābalipuram tells us that Śiva pushed the Kailāsa along with Rāvaṇa by his toe down to Pātāla.⁷³⁰ The same idea is, moreover, found in Harṣa's *Priyadarśikā*,⁷³¹ while Bāṇa describes the mountain as bent or lowered by the burden of Śiva's foot.⁷³² Among the *purāṇas* the *Brahma-purāṇa* maintains that the demon fell below Rasātala,⁷³³ while the *Śiva-purāṇa* says that the mountain was pressed and sank into the earth.⁷³⁴ Apart from them, we read in the *Anargharāghava* that the *yakṣas* settled on the Kailāsa at a place from where even the capital of the snake king was visible.⁷³⁵ Not agreeing with Rucipati, the commentator of the drama, who claimed that the extreme tallness or the brightness of the peak

⁷²⁵ *Harivaṃśa* 61.1–64.

⁷²⁶ *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.61.35–68.

⁷²⁷ *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.16.1–31.

⁷²⁸ According to the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, the peak lifted by Rāvaṇa was not identical with the Kailāsa, yet, it is mentioned just after the Kailāsa in the neighbourhood of Śaravana (*Rāmāyaṇa* 7.15.31–16.3). On the other hand, Kālidāsa's works clearly attest that the great poet has already connected the story to the Kailāsa (*Meghadūta* 58.♦; *Raghuvaṃśa* 12.89.♦).

⁷²⁹ SHARMA 1973: 328–329.

⁷³⁰ *EL. Vol. 10*, No. 1.20, p. 8, l. 3.♦.

⁷³¹ *Priyadarśikā* 1.2, p. 4.♦.

⁷³² *Harṣacarita* 6, p. 266, l. 12–13.♦.

⁷³³ *Brahma-purāṇa* 110.102–103.♦.

⁷³⁴ *Śiva-purāṇa* 7.1.30.46–47.♦.

⁷³⁵ *Anargharāghava* 7.46, p. 339.♦.

made the netherworld visible,⁷³⁶ I suppose that its reason, actually, was that the bottom of the mountain was found there. Thus, on the basis of these references it seems that the mountain lost its original height. We should also remember that it was previously described as inaccessibly tall.

Therefore, the shame of the Kailāsa is, perhaps, its reduction in size. In our case, when Raghu put his fame imagined as white as the mountain on its top, it looks like it is regaining its earlier form. Thus, Raghu's conquest, paradoxically, recreated a more complete state of the idyllic mountain.

PRĀGJYOTIṢA

The last stage of Kālidāsa's world panorama is Prāgjyotiṣa. Concerning the literary sources, the Sanskrit epics still referred to the country as a hell-like place, with which numerous demons were associated. The turning point of the common thinking is clearly discernible in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, in which the Hindu king of Assam, Bhāskaravarman appears as Harṣa's main ally in the war against the evil Śāśāṅka.⁷³⁷ Thus, it is often supposed that it was the intermediate Gupta age, when the isolated country of the Brahmaputra valley started to occupy its place in the history of India.⁷³⁸

For the investigations on the early history of Assam, the famous Dūbi and Nidhanpur Plates of Bhāskaravarman serve as a standard starting point since both of them contain an extended list about the ancestors of the ruling king.⁷³⁹ According to them, Bhāskaravarman's family starts with the notorious local demon called Naraka.⁷⁴⁰

Although the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* allude only briefly to the legendary Naraka, both of them have already connected him to Prāgjyotiṣa.⁷⁴¹ Apart from them, it is the list of Kṛṣṇa's heroic deeds in the *Harivaṃśa*, which gives such a detailed account about Naraka's killing in two cantos⁷⁴² which looks like an archetype for the later adaptations.⁷⁴³ As a result of the spread of the *brāhmaṇical* society the ancient Assamese people had to confront with their own inauspicious origin, which apparently urged

⁷³⁶ RUCIPATI comm. ad AR 7.46. •.

⁷³⁷ *Harṣacarita* 8. p. 294. l. 15 – p. 296. l. 6.

⁷³⁸ CHOUDHURY 1987: 106–107.

⁷³⁹ *EI Vol. 12*. No. 13. p. 65–79; *EI Vol. 30*. No. 47. p. 287–304.

⁷⁴⁰ *EI Vol. 12*. No. 13. p. 73. l. 5–6•; *EI Vol. 30*. No. 47. p. 298. l. 2–5•.

⁷⁴¹ *Mahābhārata* 5.47.74, 12.326.84.c–85.b•; *Rāmāyaṇa* 4.41.25. •.

⁷⁴² *Harivaṃśa* 91.1–92.70.

⁷⁴³ BRINKHAUS 2011–2012: 78.

them to rehabilitate their demonic forebear. In this way, Naraka achieved heroic rank.⁷⁴⁴

The following two members of the genealogy namely Bhagadatta and his son, Vajradatta are also epic heroes.⁷⁴⁵ Bhagadatta, though he took part in the Great War on the Kaurava side, was not an infinitely wicked person, and moreover, he was famous about his friendship with Indra.⁷⁴⁶ His son, Vajradatta, on the other hand, is a less prominent figure of the epic. He appears only in the *Āśvamedhaparvan*, in which he unsuccessfully attempts to obstruct Yudhiṣṭhira's sacrifice.⁷⁴⁷

The *Kālikā-purāṇa*, the treasury of Assamese legends, agrees with the inscriptional lineage when it introduces Bhagadatta as Naraka's son.⁷⁴⁸ In the *Mahābhārata*, though he appears on the throne of Prāgyotiṣa in the same manner, his figure seems nevertheless independent. The great epic mentions Śailālaya as Bhagadatta's grandfather,⁷⁴⁹ which is hard to be upheld concerning Naraka, who was known as Viṣṇu's son born from the Earth goddess.⁷⁵⁰ On the other hand, Bhagadatta, though he really possesses extraordinary qualities, is certainly a human being in opposition to Naraka. He commanded Cīnas and Kirātas but not demons on the Kurukṣetra.⁷⁵¹

However, even the *Mahābhārata* does not gloss over completely the connection between Naraka and Bhagadatta. The *Digvijayaparvan*, on one occasion, alludes to Bhagadatta as Naraka's son,⁷⁵² while the *Dronaparvan* reports that Bhagadatta, as the

⁷⁴⁴ The *Kālikā-purāṇa* enlarged and embroidered the former Naraka-legend. According to it, Viṣṇu in his Varāha form made the goddess Earth pregnant. The *devas*, however, were afraid of the future child, and therefore they hindered the birth for a long time. Finally, Naraka was born in consequence of Viṣṇu's intervention and became adopted by Sitā's father, Janaka. He was, in this way, raised in the Videha court, where the goddess Earth incarnating herself as a handmaid also took care of him. In his teenage years, Naraka exceeded all the other princes, because of which Janaka became embarrassed. The Earth goddess, therefore, told his son the truth about his birth and together with Viṣṇu led him to Prāgyotiṣa, his future kingdom. After that, Naraka expelled the barbarian Kirātas headed by Ghaṭaka from the country in accordance with Viṣṇu's order and established a dreamlike, flourishing state there. During the *Tretā yuga* Naraka, as a virtuous king ruled over Kāmarūpa in human form. In the *Dvāpara yuga*, however, his mind was disturbed by Bāṇa, the demonic Śaiva king of Śoṇitapura. Due to Bāṇa's influence, Naraka abandoned the human behaviour, and moreover, transformed into a dangerous demon (*asura*). Finally, the Earth goddess herself asked Viṣṇu to destroy his evil son. Thus, Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa went to Kāmarūpa and assassinated him. (*Kālikā-purāṇa* 36.1–40.143).

⁷⁴⁵ *EI Vol. 12*. No. 13. p. 73. l. 7–8•; *EI Vol. 30*. No. 47. p. 298. l. 5–7•.

⁷⁴⁶ *Mahābhārata* 7.29.1.•.

⁷⁴⁷ *Mahābhārata* 14.74.1–75.26.

⁷⁴⁸ *Kālikā-purāṇa* 40.1–2, 40.124.

⁷⁴⁹ *Mahābhārata* 15.26.10.•.

⁷⁵⁰ *Mahābhārata* 7.28.22.d*216.1–6•.

⁷⁵¹ *Mahābhārata* 5.19.14–15•.

⁷⁵² *Mahābhārata* 2.28.8.d*296.1–2•.

king of Prāgjyotiṣa was the owner of Nārāyaṇa's weapon (*Nārāyaṇa^āstra*), which was formerly the privilege of his predecessor.⁷⁵³

To summarise, the early rulers of Prāgjyotiṣa apparently adopted the epic legends to create a distinctive identity in the Hindu society for themselves. After these mythological forefathers, the inscription introduces Bhāskaravarman's historical ancestors. According to the Nidhanpur record, three thousand years passed until Puṣyavarman and his successor Samudravarman came into power in Assam.⁷⁵⁴

Concerning the latter mentioned kings, many historians such as Barua, Bhattacharya Vidyavinoda, and Majumdar called attention to the fact that these names echoed the names of such emblematic Indian emperors as Puśyāmītra Śuṅga and Samudra Gupta.⁷⁵⁵ This impression will be even stronger in the case of the latter king since Samudravarman's wife is mentioned as Dattadevī in the inscriptions, under which name Samudra Gupta's consort was known.⁷⁵⁶ Accordingly, they maintained that the recently civilised rulers of Prāgjyotiṣa expressed their honour in this way to these great emperors.

I would rather favour another possible way of interpretation, put forward but then at once rejected by Majumdar,⁷⁵⁷ namely that Samudra Gupta himself was incorporated in Bhāskaravarman's genealogy, and perhaps, the same could have happened in the case of Puśyavarman, too. Because both Puśyāmītra Śuṅga as the destroyer of the heretic Maurya Empire and Samudra Gupta as the exemplary performer of the *cakravartin* ideal are celebrated as the protectors of the *brāhmaṇic* orthodoxy, it would not be a surprising choice for them to be worshipped as progenitors for a family, whose members got freshly acquainted with the social system of the *śiṣṭas*.

Although the following two kings of the lineage are still in the shadow of the past, I did not find any reasons to doubt their historicity. A similar genealogical list is, incidentally, found on the seal discovered at Nālandā, which, if we accepted Banerji's reconstruction, registers the kings from Gaṇapatiavarman up to Bhāskaravarman.⁷⁵⁸ Bāṇa

⁷⁵³ The *Dronaparvan* outlines in detail the duel between Arjuna and Bhagadatta (*Mahābhārata* 7.26.1–28.44). During their fight, Kṛṣṇa, having violated his promise, intruded into the battle to save Arjuna's life, when Bhagadatta employed the Vaiṣṇava *astra* against him (*Mahābhārata* 7.28.16–18.b). Because of Kṛṣṇa's intervention, Arjuna felt embarrassed, and he called his charioteer to account for his behaviour. Therefore, Kṛṣṇa explained him that the legendary weapon used by Bhagadatta was unbearable, and he added the story about how it got into the possession of the Assamese kings starting with Naraka (*Mahābhārata* 7.28.22–35).

⁷⁵⁴ *EI Vol. 12*. No. 13. p. 73. l. 9–11•.

⁷⁵⁵ BARUA 1933: 41; MAJUMDAR 1962: 90; VIDYAVINODA 1913–1914: 69–70.

⁷⁵⁶ SHARMA 1978: 30.

⁷⁵⁷ MAJUMDAR 1962: 90.

⁷⁵⁸ BANERJI 1919: 303.

also shows familiarity with Bhāskaravarman's heritage starting the list with Mahābhū-tavarman (mentioned here as Bhūtivarman).⁷⁵⁹

Among these slightly better-known rulers, we find the installers of the earliest epigraphic records of the country. The so-called Umācal Rock Inscription from the end of the sixth century⁷⁶⁰ commemorates that Surendravarman (very likely identical with Mahendravarman)⁷⁶¹ had a cave excavated for Balabhadra.⁷⁶² The Baḍagaṅgā Inscription, on the other hand, eulogises Mahābhūtarman as performer of the *aśvamedha*.⁷⁶³

In this way, it seems that the *brāhmaṇical* order may have been settling at the turn of the sixth and the seventh centuries. However, because there is no record from the Gupta age, all the efforts to identify the early Nāraka kings as contemporaries of the Gupta emperors remain hypothetical. It is, actually, true that the Assamese kingdom by the name of Kāmarūpa occurs as a tributary country in the Ilāhābād Inscription.⁷⁶⁴ Thus, it seems by all means acceptable that the first encounter between the community of the *śiṣṭas* and the isolated valley of the Brahmaputra happened under the Guptas. The accessible sources, nevertheless, suggest that the main cultural turn may have happened just after the fall of the great empire.⁷⁶⁵

The deification of Raghu

Kālidāsa's first verse in this section is a fine summary of the stereotypes with which people generally associate Assam:

*cakampe tīrṇa-Lauhitye tasmin Prāgjyotiṣ^eśvaraḥ|
tad-gaj^ālānatām prāptaiḥ saha kālāguru-drumaiḥ||*⁷⁶⁶

When he crossed the river Lauhitya, the lord of the Prāgjyotiṣas (or the land of the Eastern stars) began to tremble with fear along with the black sandle-trees got to the condition of tying posts to his elephants.⁷⁶⁷

The whole account is introduced by the mention of the Brahmaputra. This river has an undisputedly central role in the Assamese cultural tradition. It is, first of all, honoured

⁷⁵⁹ *Harṣacarita* 7. p. 295. l. 1–11•.

⁷⁶⁰ SIRCAR – CHAUDHURY 1955–1956: 68.

⁷⁶¹ SIRCAR – CHAUDHURY 1955–1956: 68.

⁷⁶² *EI Vol.* 31. No. 10. p. 69•.

⁷⁶³ *EI Vol.* 27. No. 5. p. 23. l. 2; *EI Vol.* 30. No. 12. p. 67. l. 2.

⁷⁶⁴ *CII Vol.* 3. No. 1. p. 8. l. 22.

⁷⁶⁵ CHAUDHURY 1987: 107.

⁷⁶⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.84.

⁷⁶⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 120.

as Brahmā's son from Amoghā,⁷⁶⁸ and it is also maintained that Paraśurāma purified himself here after his matricide.⁷⁶⁹

Kālidāsa mentions it as Lauhitya. This appellation evidently refers to its source, the Lohita lake, on the bank of which Amoghā lived and conceived her son.⁷⁷⁰ The vocabulary of the great poet in this case, incidentally, shows that he might not be part of the local tradition, since he fails to have reference to the local worship of the river as Brahmā's son.

Raghu's arrival, on the other hand, brings fear to the country. Just after he crosses the Brahmaputra, the local king together with his elephants fastened to the *kālāguru* trees starts to tremble.

His fear, moreover, intensifies in the following verse when the dust raised by Raghu's chariots overshadows the Sun:

na prasehe sa ruddh^ārkaṁ an-abhra-maya-dur-dinam|
*ratha-varṣa-rajo 'py asya kuta eva patākinīm||*⁷⁷¹

He could not bear even the dust raised in the way by his chariots, which obscured the Sun and by which the day became rainy without clouds, how could he, pray, the army? (transl. with modifications)⁷⁷²

Thus, the country, though there has not happened any encounter yet, looks like a war zone, since everything is covered by redness because of the dust. Perhaps, this kind of atmosphere has already been foreshadowed by the name of the Lauhitya, which also means redness.⁷⁷³ In this way, Kālidāsa duly finishes the verse with a rhetorical question: how would the king of Prāgyotiṣa be able to endure Raghu's offence, if even the dust was unbearable for him?

For this, we know the answer from the subsequent verse, in which he appears to be surrendering. He actually presents Raghu with his formerly victorious elephants:

⁷⁶⁸ According to the *Kālikā-purāṇa*, a sage called Śaṁtanu lived with his wife, Amoghā on the bank of the lake Lohita. One day, Brahmā visited the place and coveted Amoghā. However, she refused the Creator of the World, who thus discharged his semen in vain. After Śaṁtanu came home, he drank Brahmā's semen and emitted it into his wife. The river Brahmaputra was born from this union. (*Kālikā-purāṇa* 82.1–41.b).

⁷⁶⁹ *Kālikā-purāṇa* 82.41.c–43.

⁷⁷⁰ *Kālikā-purāṇa* 82.6–7•.

⁷⁷¹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.85.

⁷⁷² NANDARGIKAR 1971: 120. – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *a-dhārā-varṣa-dur-dinam* instead of *an-abhra-maya-dur-dinam* in the second *pāda* of the verse, and translates it as follows: "... the day became rainy without showers..."

⁷⁷³ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 910.

*tam <Raghum> īśaḥ Kāmarūpānām aty-ākhaṇḍala-vikramam|
bheje bhinna-kaṭair nāgair anyān uparurodha yaiḥ||*⁷⁷⁴

The lord of the Kāmarūpas [or Kāmarūpa], who had encountered other conquerors with his elephants, paid, by means of those elephants of ichor-discharging temples, homage to him who excelled Indra in valour.⁷⁷⁵

The elephants, also mentioned in the first verse about Prāgjyotiṣa, probably formed the main force in the local army. Behind this association, perhaps, we can recognise some epic impacts, since both Bhagadatta and Vajradatta were famous for their acquaintance with the elephants.⁷⁷⁶

The verse, on the other hand, aims to convince us not to regard the king of Prāgjyotiṣa as a weak one, since he fought in the past successfully against conquerors and the reason of his fall is Raghu's prowess, which surpasses even Indra's.

Besides, Raghu's comparison with Indra presents his ultimate glorification, which is unfolded in the last verse about the *digvijaya*. Raghu becomes worshipped as a real deity at the end of the world conquest:

*Kāmarūp[^]eśvaras tasya <Raghoḥ> hema-pīṭh[^]ādhidevatām|
ratna-puṣp[^]ōpahāreṇa cchāyām ānarca pādayoḥ||*⁷⁷⁷

The king of the Kāmarūpas [or Kāmarūpa] worshipped the shadow of his feet, the presiding deity of the golden footstool, with the offering of flowers consisting of precious stones.⁷⁷⁸

In this manner, the verse serves as termination not only for the Assamese scene, but also for the whole account.

⁷⁷⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 4.86.

⁷⁷⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 121.

⁷⁷⁶ *Mahābhārata* 5.164.34–35, 7.25.40, 14.75.5–9.

⁷⁷⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 4.87.

⁷⁷⁸ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 121.

CONCLUDING WORDS

If we take into consideration Kālidāsa's description of the world as a whole, its most striking characteristic seems to be the great number of locational markers, which are commonly known under the name "landmark". According to Kai-Florian Richter and Stephan Winter, if the man represents place, it is the landmarks which structure it necessarily.⁷⁷⁹ Zedeño, Austin, and Stoffle, on the other hand, arrived at a similar conclusion when they defined the landscape as "the network of interactions between people and landmarks".⁷⁸⁰ These approaches mean that the landmark is a broad concept, under which one's home and the world-famous Eiffel Tower can be equally understood. What makes something a landmark then? For this, it is worth to quote Richter and Winter's answer:

"it [the definition of landmarks] covers for objects that stand out in an environment such that they have made (or can make) an impression on a person's mind."⁷⁸¹

In connection with this statement they also call attention to the fact that each of the landmarks are limited to larger or smaller groups. They give as an example that the Eiffel Tower is known by many people, while one's home is only by few.⁷⁸² In the case of a literary work, it also means that the chosen landmarks can somewhat uncover the intellectual environment of both the poet and his/her audience. Therefore, as a conclusion of the first part, it seems appropriate to have a look at the landmarks of the description of the *digvijaya*.

Actually, the landmarks, that Kālidāsa uses here, can be grouped into two categories. In connection with each of the countries, on the one hand, there are several geographical objects, such as hills, mountains, rivers and other well-determinable locations put on display, which are the most apparent markers of Raghu's journey. Furthermore, some of them, such as the Mahendra, the Malaya, the Sahya and the Lauhitya stand for whole countries, and have thus iconic significance.⁷⁸³

The second group of Kālidāsa's landmarks is, on the other hand, formed by plants, animals, and products. In a narrow sense, they are rarely regarded as landmarks, however, in Kālidāsa's description, their role is quite similar to that of the geographical objects. Furthermore, they also have responsibility for the variety in the description.

⁷⁷⁹ RICHTER – WINTER 2014: 7.

⁷⁸⁰ ZEDEÑO – AUSTIN – STOFFLE 1997: 126.

⁷⁸¹ RICHTER – WINTER 2014: 8.

⁷⁸² RICHTER – WINTER 2014: 9.

⁷⁸³ RICHTER – WINTER 2014: 18.

First Schubring, then Salomon pointed out that Kālidāsa's texts are ordinarily constructed by the repetition of the characteristic elements of the syntax.⁷⁸⁴ However, it seems that, beyond the syntactical elements, some thematic motives also return, even though with greater interval. The relaxing warriors,⁷⁸⁵ the fettered elephants,⁷⁸⁶ the galloping horses,⁷⁸⁷ etc. appear again and again in the description about Raghu's conquest, in parallel to which the markers of the environment are in a permanent change.

In spite of this slight variety, the countries of the *digvijaya* form a mostly homogenous space. This means that though Kālidāsa collects the most typical features of these countries, he still upholds his external point of view. Thus, the landmarks are put simply next to each other, and their inner hierarchical significance remains unrevealed.

In this way, the description of the *digvijaya* involves a rather ahistorical, map-like reading, which mirrors, in Tuan's words, "God's view of the world".⁷⁸⁸ However, the description does not become a map ultimately. Quite the contrary, it includes the characteristics of the landscape picture as much.⁷⁸⁹ The fact, that the hero, Raghu, as the head of the civilised middle country visits the foreign places personally, transforms the ahistorical place into historical. Thus, the formerly foreign places, as scenes of Raghu's heroic deeds, become markers of the past for the people of the middle country.

⁷⁸⁴ Actually, Schubring (1955) recognised this technique as concatenation (or *Verschränkung*) in the *Meghadūta*, while Salomon (2016) pointed out its broader usage.

⁷⁸⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 4.44, 4.67, 4.77. (See p. 35, 84, 109.).

⁷⁸⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.51, 4.59, 4.72. (See p. 51, 65, 96.).

⁷⁸⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 4.50, 4.58, 4.70. (See p. 50, 64, 95.).

⁷⁸⁸ TUAN 2001: 123.

⁷⁸⁹ TUAN 2001: 122–123.

Kālidāsa and the Country

While the first part of my dissertation intended to draw a picture of what the foreign, the barbarian meant for Kālidāsa, its second part will focus on that area, which fostered his own cultural heritage.

To determine its geographical units, the description of Indumatī's *svayaṃvara* presents itself as the most apparent source.⁷⁹⁰ It is Kālidāsa's other extended catalogue of the various peoples of the Subcontinent, which, in contrast to the *digvijaya*, represents the civilised countries, otherwise the suitors coming from these regions could not be considered as possible candidates at the *svayaṃvara*.⁷⁹¹

Although it deals with several kings here, the canto is still subordinated to the declaration of the priority of Kosala and Vidarbha. In fact, it is their marital as well as political alliance, which gives rise to the empire of the epic Ikṣvākus. During the *digvijaya*, Raghu had only declared his imperial claim, which Aja's triumph at the *svayaṃvara* realised.

The rising empire is, in this way, that space, where Kālidāsa's stories usually take place. It is, in Ingalls's words, an ideal, "happy land",⁷⁹² where the rules of the universal (*brāhmaṇic*) *dharma* prevail exclusively. This is exemplified in the most effective way by the *Raghuvamśa*, which is by and large about the ideal operation of the kingdom. On its report, however, it is not the kings who make the empire perfect, because they, from time to time, prove themselves to be too addicted⁷⁹³ or unstable⁷⁹⁴ to live up to the expectations. Instead, the operation of the empire is presented by their opposing attitudes towards the *dharma* and the *kāma*,⁷⁹⁵ which at once means that even the rulers

⁷⁹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 6.20–67.

⁷⁹¹ As I have touched on it earlier, there are some places, which are listed in both of the accounts. It is mainly geographical reasons that explain the occurrence of Kāliṅga (*Raghuvamśa* 6.53–58) among the countries subjugated by Raghu. Furthermore, its chief was reinstated after the war. This favour would have been hardly imaginable in the case of an utterly barbarian chief (*Raghuvamśa* 4.45.). The same seems to go for the Pāṇḍya country (*Raghuvamśa* 6.59–66). It signifies the southern extremity of Raghu's conquest, where the locals duly bowed before the vanquisher (*Raghuvamśa* 4.53.). Though there is no certain evidence of their civilised status, the Pāṇḍyas being associated with Pāṇḍu (SIRCAR 1971b: 54.), were never as ill-famed as the other foreigners of the South. Lastly, the Assamese king is mentioned as a participant, but he is not regarded more than a marginal ruler, and therefore he is not introduced among the most probable candidates (*Raghuvamśa* 7.17.).

Beyond them, I previously set two further regions, namely Aṅga (*Raghuvamśa* 6.26–30) and Anūpa (*Raghuvamśa* 6.37–44) apart. Although both of them belong evidently to the community of the *śiṣṭas*, they remain in fairly close relation with the barbaricum geographically as well as culturally. Therefore, I included them in the discussion of their corresponding, less civilised areas.

⁷⁹² INGALLS 1976: 18.

⁷⁹³ DEZSŐ 2014: 160.

⁷⁹⁴ SHULMAN 2014: 37.

⁷⁹⁵ DEZSŐ 2014: 167–168.

are subordinated to a supreme, transcendental law, to the scope of which the empire of the *Raghuvamśa* corresponds.

Although the imperial area in its scenic role is touched on as an undivided and isolated cultural milieu, it, most of the time, becomes fragmented when the thematic function of space emerges. In this way, Kālidāsa does not attempt here to delineate a didactic map of the country, as he did in the case of the Barbaricum. Instead, there are the mountains, the towns and the other spatial elements, which engage his attention, and thus occur as the real subjects of his narratives.

However, even these descriptions cannot be regarded as pure manifestations of the thematic function of space because they usually serve secondary purposes, too. Sometimes it is the symbolic usage which shapes the lyric place, as in the case of the Ocean and the Himālaya. At other times, especially in his travelogues – though this genre is, in general, regarded as the clearest example for the thematic function of space⁷⁹⁶ – the landscapes are never depicted without the presence of human (or human-like) characters, and thus they rather become the active devices of storytelling.

Although the representation of the country is, in this way, realised in quite diverse ways, it is again a ubiquitous duality which provides an organising principle with regard to Kālidāsa's approach here. On this spatial level, it is the difference between nature and culture, which seems to take over the place of the former barbarian–civilised contrast.

However, before adopting this scheme, it is necessary to define what we mean by these abstractions. Aleix Ruiz-Falqués has recently argued that nature in its Romantic sense does not exist in the *Meghadūta*, nor probably in other *kāvya* works,⁷⁹⁷ despite the fact that most modern literary critics treat it from this view.⁷⁹⁸ In his words:

“But what do critics mean when they talk about “nature” in the *Meghadūta*? If what they mean is Nature as opposed to Man (the realm of Nature vs. the realm of Man), then we know that in India, the idea of what is human (*pauruṣeya*) is not a negation of what we call Nature, but a negation of what we call non-human (*apauruṣeya*), for instance: the *Veda*.”⁷⁹⁹

Thus, contrary to the common approach, Ruiz-Falqués conceptualised the scope of the *Meghadūta* as a special place, which is characterised by an intertwining of the human, the natural and the divine spheres.⁸⁰⁰ Although his remarks seem, in fact, quite proper

⁷⁹⁶ DE TEMMERMAN 2012: 488.

⁷⁹⁷ RUIZ-FALQUÉS 2015: 84–86.

⁷⁹⁸ KALE 1947: ix; MALLINSON 2006: 16; WILSON 1814: xv–xvi.

⁷⁹⁹ RUIZ-FALQUÉS 2015: 85.

⁸⁰⁰ RUIZ-FALQUÉS 2015: 86.

in the case of the *Meghadūta*, I am not sure that the absence of nature could be a general feature of Kālidāsa's whole oeuvre. When Kālidāsa praises the Himālaya as *devat^ātmā*,⁸⁰¹ he does nothing else but identifies it with something, which is certainly non-human (*a-pauruṣeya*). This indicates that there are some pieces of nature, which, on the one hand, are obviously unaffected by the presence of humans, and, on the other hand are intertwined purely with the divine sphere. In the following, therefore, I understand these pieces as representations of the natural space, and others as that of culture.

Although they might look like opposites, Kālidāsa does not contrast them. Instead, these types of space rather exist as two independent manifestations of the one spatial reality corresponding to the Indian empire. In other words, both of them are models of it, though they represent it in quite opposing ways.

⁸⁰¹ *Kumārasambhava* 1.1.a.

PRISTINE SPACE

Because Kālidāsa was an imperial court poet, it is not completely unexpected that the idea of empire arises as a leading motif even in his descriptions of nature. In Indian thinking, empire is regarded as a result of a marriage, in which the king as husband takes his sovereignty as wife.⁸⁰² It is this concept, which mainly determines Kālidāsa's attitude towards nature:

vasumatyā hi nṛpāḥ kalatrināḥ||⁸⁰³

for kings have a wife in the Earth⁸⁰⁴

In this way, Kālidāsa employs the various images of nature in his poetic world to conjure up an image of that female-male duality, on which the working of the empire depends.

Kālidāsa's choice for the female principle is obviously the Earth itself. Because many of the kings of the *Raghuvamśa* rule over the whole civilised world, its equivalent, the Earth often takes the shape of a royal wife. Thus, the allusions to it become obligatory constituents of the similes describing the most celebrated queens of the *Raghuvamśa*, where they are, from time to time, used as *upamāna* (agent of comparison)⁸⁰⁵:

*atha tasya <Ajasya> vivāha-kautukam lalitam bibhrata eva pārthivah <Raghuḥ> |
vasudhām api hasta-gāminīm akarod Indumatīm iv'āparām*||⁸⁰⁶

After this the king Raghu delivered also the Earth into his hands, as if it were another Indumatī, even while he wore (round his wrist) the elegant marriage-thread-ring.⁸⁰⁷

In certain cases, it is the motherly role, which, in addition, acquired a greater importance, since both the Earth producing riches, and the queens giving birth to the future king are to sustain the world:

*kṣitir Indumatī ca bhāminī patim āsādyā tam <Ajām> agrya-pauruṣam |
prathamā bahu-ratna-sūr abhūd aparā vīram ajījanat sutam*||⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰² DERRETT – DUNCAN 1959: 108.

⁸⁰³ *Raghuvamśa* 8.83.d.

⁸⁰⁴ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 252.

⁸⁰⁵ GEROW 1971: 142.

⁸⁰⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 8.1.

⁸⁰⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 219.

⁸⁰⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 8.28.

Thus, Earth and his wife Indumatī, having obtained him for their husband who possessed the greatest valour, the former became the producer of many invaluable things and the latter gave birth to a brave son.⁸⁰⁹

*tasyām <Sītāyām> ev'āsya <Śatrughnasya> yāminyām antaratnī prajāvatī|
sutāv asūta saṃpannau kośa-daṇḍāv iva kṣitīḥ||*⁸¹⁰

On that very night his sister-in-law who was quick with child gave birth to illustrious twins (sons), as the Earth produces a complete treasure and a complete army.⁸¹¹

*taṃ <garbham> bhāvāya prasava-samayākāṅkṣiṇīnām prajānām
antar-gūḍhaṃ kṣitir iva nabho-bīja-muṣṭim dadhānā|
maulaiḥ sārḍhaṃ sthavira-sacivair hema-siṃhāśana-sthā
rājñī rājyaṃ vidhivad aśīṣad bhartur a-vyāhatājñā||*⁸¹²

Bearing the foetus lying concealed in her womb, as the Earth does the handful of seeds sown in its interior beds in the month of Śrāvana, for the prosperity of her subjects who were ardently waiting for the time of her delivery, the queen, seated as she was on a golden throne with her command never disputed, ruled over the kingdom of her husband according to the rules laid down by the *śāstras* with the assistance rendered her by the hereditary old ministers.⁸¹³

There are, besides, some allusions to that the Earth and the queens – being imagined, in the same way, as consorts of the king – are not only analogous figures, but they also tend to behave as rivals of each other:

*sa-dayaṃ bubhuje mahā-bhujah sahas'ōdvegāṃ iyaṃ vrajeda iti|
a-cir'ōpanatāṃ sa <Ajah> medinīm nava-pāṇi-grahaṇām vadhūm iva||*⁸¹⁴

Then like a newly married bride that king though powerful, enjoyed the Earth, lately brought under his sway, with kindness, lest through violence she would fall into a state of terror.⁸¹⁵

⁸⁰⁹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 230.

⁸¹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 15.13.

⁸¹¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 466.

⁸¹² *Raghuvamśa* 19.57.

⁸¹³ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 600.

⁸¹⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 8.7.

⁸¹⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 229.

In the case of Rāma, his attachment to the Earth (or even more to Ayodhyā) surpasses his love for his human wife, Sītā:

*kṛta-Sītā-parityāgaḥ sa <Rāmaḥ> ratn^ākara-mekhalām|
bubhuje pṛthivī-pālaḥ pṛthivīm eva kevalām||*⁸¹⁶

That protector of the Earth who had abandoned Sītā enjoyed the mere Earth alone which had for its zone the ocean the abode of pearls.⁸¹⁷

The situation is quite the contrary in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, where the Earth is compared to Dhāriṇī, the first but less loved wife of the king, yet this association remains secondary to the idea of royal majesty embodied in Agnimitra's true love, Mālavikā:

*mām <Puspamitram> iyaṁ abhyuttiṣṭhati
devī <Dhāriṇī> vinayād anūttṛhitā priyayā <Mālavikayā>|
vismṛta-hasta-kamalayā
nar^êndra-lakṣmyā vasumat'iva||*⁸¹⁸

The noble lady stands to greet me, my beloved rising modestly after her, like the very goddess Earth joined by royal Glory, who's lost the lotus from her hand.⁸¹⁹

Beyond this kind of presence of the Earth in Kālidāsa's similes, there are, on the other hand, quite a few verses, in which the Earth in itself is focalised. Here, it is rather understood as an eternal unit characterised by a strong transcendental aspect. Thus, the Earth oversteps the former role of the royal wife and comes in itself to embody the female principle of the cosmic duality of the universe. As a result, not only the queens, but even Pārvatī, Śiva's wife is compared to the Earth:

*sā <Pārvatī> maṅgala-snāna-viśuddha-gātrī gr̥hita-śubhr^ôdgamanīya-vastrā|
nirvṛtta-parjanya-jal^âbhiṣekā praphulla-kāśā vasudh'êva reje||*⁸²⁰

Her body purified by the auspicious bath, she put on shining fresh garments and shone like the treasure-bearing Earth after a rain shower has ceased and the water reeds blossom.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 15.1.

⁸¹⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 462.

⁸¹⁸ *Mālavikāgnimitra* 5.43. p. 178.

⁸¹⁹ BALOGH – SOMOGYI 2009: 179.

⁸²⁰ *Kumārasambhava* 7.11.

⁸²¹ SMITH 2005: 253.

On this cosmic level, there are references to the different landscapes as parts of the body, which, actually, mould the Earth into the shape of a supernatural woman. One of the peaks of the Māla field⁸²² is envisioned as her breast, while the Sahya represents her buttocks,⁸²³ on which the ocean forms a girdle:

*chann^ôpāntaḥ parinata-phala-dyotibhiḥ kānan^āmraś
tvayy ārūḍhe śikharam acalaḥ snigdha-veṇī-sa-varṇe|
nūnam yāsyaty amara-mithuna-prekṣaṇīyām avasthām
madhye śyāmaḥ stana iva bhuvāḥ śeṣa-vistāra-pāṇḍuḥ||*⁸²⁴

The mountain's flanks are covered in wild mango trees shining with ripe fruit and you are the color of a well-oiled braid of hair. When you surmount the peak, it will surely become a worthy sight for coupling celestials, looking as it will like the breast of the world, dark in the middle, pale all round.⁸²⁵

*tatra nāga-phaṇ^ôtkṣipta-simh^āsana-niṣeḍuṣi|
samudra-raśanā sāksāt prādur āsīd vasumdharaḥ||*⁸²⁶

In the centre of that halo of light there appeared the Goddess Earth herself having for her girdle the ocean, seated on a throne held up on the expanded hood of the snake Śeṣa.⁸²⁷

The rivers are often pictured as the ornaments of the Earth. Among them, the Yamunā crowded by *cakravāka* couples looks like a braid of hair divided by a golden streak:

*tatra saudha-gataḥ paśyan <Śatrughnaḥ> Yamunām cakravākinīm|
hema-bhaktimatīm bhūmeh praveṇīm iva pipriye||*⁸²⁸

⁸²² About the expression of *mālam kṣetram* of the *Meghadūta* (16.c), actually, there is no consensus among the interpreters. Most of the Sanskrit commentators took the word *māla* as an adjective clarifying the place as an elevated plain. (DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA, MALLINĀTHA, PARAMEŚA, VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 1.16.). This way of explanation is adopted also by some modern scholars. (DE 1970: 35; WESTRA 2012: 12.). Pūrṇasarasvatī, in contrast to them, put forward that the verse was written about a concrete geographical location, and therefore, he comprehended the word *māla* as an elliptic form from Mālava. (PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.16.) Although this way of identification has not gained many followers, the understanding of the expression *mālam kṣetram* as a proper noun is still very common among many scholars. (KALE 1947 4; PATHAK 1916: 78–79; MALLINSON 2006: 33.).

⁸²³ *Raghuvamśa* 4.55. (See p. 47–48).

⁸²⁴ *Meghadūta* 18.

⁸²⁵ MALLINSON 2006: 33.

⁸²⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 15.83.

⁸²⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 488.

⁸²⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 15.30.

There having taken his seat on his palace, he enjoyed the view of the Yamunā, on the banks of which were sitting *cakravāka* birds, and which therefore appeared like a braid of Earth's hair decorated with hangings of gold.⁸²⁹

At Prayāga, where the Ganges joins it, the two rivers are sometimes similar to a twisted wreath of a jasmine- and blue water lily-garland (*kunda-srag-indīvara-mālyay'ēva*),⁸³⁰ and sometimes to a girdle furnished by crystals and cat's eye gems:

nitānta-śuddha-sphaṭik^ākṣa-yogād vaidūrya-kāntyā raśan^āval'iva|
*Gaṅgā Raver ātmajayā <Yamunayā> sametya puṣyaty udāraṃ para-bhogam eṣā||*⁸³¹

After the Ganges joins together with the daughter of the Sun god, they cause the highest pleasure, just as a girdle consisting of beautiful cat's eye-gems when it is joined with extensively bright crystal seeds.

Other rivers in the vicinity of peaks, like the Carmaṇvatī (Cambal)⁸³² and the Mandākinī (Kālīgaṅgā)⁸³³ are, on the other hand, imagined as necklaces:

tvayy ādātum jalam avanate Śārṅgiṇo varṇa-caure
tasyāḥ sindhoḥ pr̥thum api tanum dūra-bhāvāt pravāham|
prekṣiṣyante gagana-gatayo dūram āvarjya dr̥ṣṭīr
*ekaṃ muktā-guṇam iva bhuvāḥ sthūla-madhy^ēndranīlam||*⁸³⁴

When you, the thief of Kṛṣṇa's complexion, bend down to take the water of that river, the sky-rangers will turn their gazes all the way to her stream, which, though broad, will look slender from afar, like a single string of pearls worn by the Earth, a huge sapphire in its middle.⁸³⁵

eṣā prasanna-stimīta-pravāhā sarid vidūr^āntara-bhāva-tanvī|
*Mandākinī bhāti nag^ōpakaṇṭhe mukt^āvalī kaṇṭha-gat'ēva bhūmeḥ||*⁸³⁶

⁸²⁹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 471.

⁸³⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 13.54.b.

⁸³¹ *Raghuvamśa* 13.57.

⁸³² DEY 1979: 48.

⁸³³ DEY 1979: 124.

⁸³⁴ *Meghadūta* 46.

⁸³⁵ MALLINSON 2006: 53.

⁸³⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 13.48.

Yonder is the river Mandākinī with its limpid and serene currents of water, appearing thin on account of the intervention of a long distance looks like a pearl-necklace hanging from the neck of the Earth near the mountain.⁸³⁷

On account of this divine aspect of the Earth, and also the fact that Kālidāsa usually preferred to describe the country from above – a poetic point of view, from which human beings including kings can easily look insignificant – he needed to introduce a new, suitable companion for the Earth imagined as a woman. For this, either the ocean or the Himālaya was appointed. Unlike the Earth – the shape of which is only revealed in isolated allusions – there are complete descriptions dedicated to both of them.

From this view, they can be regarded as unique pieces of Kālidāsa's oeuvre, since the non-attendance of the protagonist distinguishes them. In Kālidāsa's landscape poetry, one of the main characteristics that it is not the plain scenery, but its momentary connection with several leading characters, such as Raghu, the Cloud or Rāma's aerial chariot, that manifests itself as the poetical theme. Thus, these poems can be rather regarded as a series of poetic snapshots. Because of the absence of any protagonists, this kind of horizontal dynamism does not typify the descriptions of the ocean and the Himālaya much, and therefore their static representation seems closer to the landscape poetry of Western literature

Besides, Kālidāsa's choice of them reminds us of Kauṭilya's understanding of the imperial territory (*cakravarti-kṣetra*), according to which the imperial sway stretches from the Himālaya to the sea.⁸³⁸ This, at once, means that both of these areas are, by nature, influenced by the thought of empire building, which therefore makes them suitable symbols of the king, too.

Finally, both the ocean and the Himālaya are also influenced deeply by the presence of the transcendent. On the one hand, they, just like the Earth, possess human qualities, and thus look more or less like anthropomorphic divinities. On the other hand, the ocean, as Viṣṇu's couch, and the Himālaya, as Śiva's abode received special reverence among the Hindu believers.

In this way, there are at least three possible levels involved, on which these descriptions can be interpreted. Beyond their scenic presence, they are, on the one hand, used to be symbols of the king, and on the other hand, they convey the immanence of the Highest Person in the created world.

⁸³⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 415.

⁸³⁸ *Arthaśāstra* 9.1.18.●.

THE OCEAN

In his work on poetics, Daṇḍin mentions the ocean among the key topics of the *sarga-bandha*.⁸³⁹ Tiziana Pontillo and Paola Rossi carried out an exhaustive study examining the descriptions of the ocean in the *Mahābhārata* and in the Pāli Canon, concluded by a twofold ambivalent image in the early literature.⁸⁴⁰ Concerning its negative side, the ocean is extremely dreadful and looks like a battlefield or the *saṃsāra* itself, while it is, in parallel, depicted as a marvellous world, as a piece of heaven, which transforms into the symbol of the supreme spiritual state in the Buddhist context.⁸⁴¹

Although the first poetic ideas of the ocean are found thus in the epics, Boccali rightly observed that these short allusions were quite far from the copious ocean images characterising the later literature.⁸⁴² For this, Kālidāsa's description along with Pravarasena's are the first examples, the latter forming a kind of bridge between the epic and the classical literature, while the former being unconventional at a number of levels.

In Kālidāsa's poem, Rāma's homeward journey from Laṅkā functions as its context, which is borrowed from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁸⁴³ In the *Raghuvaṃśa*, however, it has a more important structural role than in its antecedent. Kālidāsa relates the plot of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Rāma's exile to Rāvaṇa's killing briefly in the twelfth canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa*. Since this summary lacks the events of the journey to Laṅkā, Rāma narrates them during the homeward journey in the following canto.⁸⁴⁴ In this way, the simple, functionally negligible repetition of the journey and the recounting of the events of the exile in the *Rāmāyaṇa* becomes an important chain-link of the storyline in the *Raghuvaṃśa*.

As the Italian scholars have observed, the crossing of the ocean usually precedes the confrontation of the main difficulty and sometimes symbolises it in the epic literature.⁸⁴⁵ Apparently, many of the classical poets such as Pravarasena⁸⁴⁶ and the later Māgha⁸⁴⁷ followed this method.

Unlike them, Kālidāsa's poem places the description of the ocean just after the passing of the danger. We should bear in mind that the great poet relates the events here in reverse order, thus the image is the inversion of that terrible ocean, which was visible

⁸³⁹ *Kāvyaadarśa* 1.16.♦.

⁸⁴⁰ PONTILLO – ROSSI 2003: 167–214.

⁸⁴¹ PONTILLO – ROSSI 2003: 193–194.

⁸⁴² BOCCALI 2005: 116.

⁸⁴³ *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.111.1–31.

⁸⁴⁴ RUBEN 1957: 576–577.

⁸⁴⁵ PONTILLO – ROSSI 2005: 174–176.

⁸⁴⁶ *Setubandha* 2.1–36.

⁸⁴⁷ *Śiśupālavadha* 3.71–82.

before the building of the bridge.⁸⁴⁸ In this way, the crossing can symbolise the beginning of future happiness. However, it is also true that this crossing is, in fact, the beginning of a new, more unbearable suffering for Sītā.

Beyond that, as I have already indicated, the ocean serves as a symbol of the emperor in Kālidāsa's poetic world. Its presumably first association with kingship is the above-cited verse of the *Arthaśāstra*, according to which the ocean is an essential hallmark of imperial sovereignty (*cakravarti-kṣetra*). Later, this idea occurs in Skanda Gupta's Bhitārī inscription,⁸⁴⁹ which eulogises his ancestor, Samudra Gupta as the one "whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four ocean" (*catur-udadhi-salil^āsvādita-yaśas*).⁸⁵⁰

The Indian emperor (*cakravartin*) was consequently "the lord of the whole Earth" (*sārvabhauma*)⁸⁵¹ and he was alone to receive protection from the ocean.⁸⁵² Empire building, in this way, involved the revision of the former seaside-concept also. As we have seen in the *digvijaya* description, the coastal region was usually despised as an impure, barbarian place. To cross over its countries was a great challenge to gain the ideal position of the *cakravartin*. Quite the contrary, now, the ocean becomes the protector of the emperor. This honourable office by nature includes the transcendental dimension of the place. Because this exerts deep influence on Kālidāsa's ocean description, it seems unavoidable to have a look at this background on the following pages before the textual analysis.

Viṣṇu and the ocean

In spite of the ill fame of the seashore, the ocean is, a bit paradoxically, a sacred place for the Hindus, especially for the Vaiṣṇavas, who honour it as the abode of the Supreme Being.⁸⁵³ On the other hand, Viṣṇu has responsibility not only for the sanctity of the ocean, but in passing also for the transcendental atmosphere surrounding the earthly ruler.⁸⁵⁴

He, just like his human counterpart, the king often appears as the male companion of the Earth Goddess,⁸⁵⁵ which characterises, therefore, his incarnations, too. According to some traditions, the Varāha (boar), for example, had sexual intercourse with the

⁸⁴⁸ *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.4.76–88.

⁸⁴⁹ *CII Vol. 3*. No. 13. p. 53. l. 1.

⁸⁵⁰ FLEET 1888: 14.n.

⁸⁵¹ KANE 1946: 66.

⁸⁵² WILLIS 2009: 59.

⁸⁵³ GONDA 1954: 14–15.

⁸⁵⁴ GONDA 1954: 164–167.

⁸⁵⁵ BHATTACHARYYA 1971: 24.

Earth after he had saved her,⁸⁵⁶ while Rāma's wedding with the autochthonous Sītā is nothing else than an anthropomorphisation of the archaic, cosmic couple.

The first concrete references to Viṣṇu's intimate relationship with the king, go as far back as the Vedic period.⁸⁵⁷ However, if we disregard these quite early and not too telling allusions,⁸⁵⁸ the *Mahābhārata* remains the first authority which, relating the myth about Prthu,⁸⁵⁹ gives a complete theory about the royal sacredness.⁸⁶⁰ Actually, it maintains that Viṣṇu's majesty is present in all kings.⁸⁶¹ This doctrine may have had cardinal importance in the imperial policy of the Viṣṇu-follower Guptas,⁸⁶² to which the rise of the Rāma cult under Skanda Gupta, furthermore, was added.⁸⁶³ Kālidāsa was probably under the influence of these religious trends, when he dedicated the longest section of the *Raghuvamśa* to Rāma from among all his epic heroes.⁸⁶⁴ Because the great poet may have been Śaiva,⁸⁶⁵ his résumé of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was, in all likelihood, composed under the influence of the contemporary Viṣṇu-religion favoured by his patrons, a remarkable characteristic of which was Rāma's deification.

About his divine entity, there is no unified doctrine in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, nevertheless, some traces of a theological development in connection with his worship can be recognised. According to Horst Brinkhaus's exhaustive analysis, there are at least three identifiable phases of this process.⁸⁶⁶ Rāma and his brothers first appear as the manifestations of the Vedic Viṣṇu who has not been equated yet with the Supreme One. Brinkhaus's second level looks like a transitional one, where Rāma is still Viṣṇu's human form, however, he is also worshipped as the incarnation of the highest Nārāyaṇa. Finally, the last stage of this process arose, when the Vedic Viṣṇu merged into Nārāyaṇa (-Vāsudeva).

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is, from this view, an eclectic poem, which by nature contains various ideas of several periods. Therefore, our task is to compare the various theological ideas of the epic with the *Raghuvamśa* and the cultural heritage of Gupta era.

⁸⁵⁶ *Harṣacarita* 7. p. 294. l. 15–16•; *Kālikā-purāṇa* 36.8–9, 36.29–30•.

⁸⁵⁷ GONDA 1954: 164.

⁸⁵⁸ *Atharvaveda* 6.3.1; *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* 1.3.4.16. p. 31, 4.2.2.10. p. 357.

⁸⁵⁹ Actually, there are two possible candidates for the title of the very first king in Indian mythology. Among them, Manu's rule (*Mahābhārata* 12.67.17–38) exemplifies the archaic tribal form of kingship, while Prthu's (*Mahābhārata* 12.59.4–141) serves as the model of the later empires. (PRAKASH 1965: 135–136).

⁸⁶⁰ GONDA 1954: 164.

⁸⁶¹ *Mahābhārata* 12.59.129–140.

⁸⁶² ALI 2011: 94–95.

⁸⁶³ WILLIS 2009: 241.

⁸⁶⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 11.1–15.103.

⁸⁶⁵ UPADHYAYA 1947: 311.

⁸⁶⁶ BRINKHAUS 1992: 106.

The Gupta emperors designated themselves as *paramabhāgavatas*.⁸⁶⁷ This common term simply means Vaiṣṇava,⁸⁶⁸ which is not too informative here, since the concurrent Vaiṣṇava community already had been divided into various sects such as the Sātvatas, the Pañcarātras and the Vaikhānasas. However, Michael Willis, based on the archaeological findings, excluded all of these well-determinable schools from the possible ones and he supposed that the Guptas patronised a rather universal form of the Viṣṇu-religion, which he recognised as Bhāgavatism.⁸⁶⁹

With the help of one of the Valkhā charters of Bhulunḍa⁸⁷⁰ he, in addition, assumed that this kind of Vaiṣṇavism was such a religious movement in which the worship of Viṣṇu's four forms, namely Nārāyaṇa, Varāha, Rāma Dāśarathi and Kṛṣṇa formed the fundamental parts of the cult.⁸⁷¹ Although this concept, in fact, corresponds to the inclusive worldview which may have been expected from an imperial religion, an older brand of the Gupta piety also seems to be recognisable.

Udayigiri is known as an important sacred centre of the imperial Guptas. In his extended study about the place and its function, Willis showed that the cult of Udayagiri was based on three sculptural panels of the site. They represent Nārāyaṇa, Nara-siṃha and Varāha, each member of which principal triad is, in addition, associated with Viṣṇu's periodical sleep.⁸⁷²

In connection with the cult of Udayagiri, my impression is that it has a textual parallel in the *Harivaṃśa*. According to its frame story, Janamejaya eulogises Viṣṇu's former deeds and he wants to know the reason why the deity has to be born this time as a human being on the Earth.⁸⁷³ Among the later, "classical" *avatāras* Janamejaya mentions only the boar⁸⁷⁴ and the man-lion⁸⁷⁵ here, while he describes the deity with the typical attributes of Nārāyaṇa.⁸⁷⁶ In this way, Janamejaya looks like a Vaiṣṇava, who has more or less the same religious background as we find on the panels of Udayagiri. Thus, the theological mission of the *Harivaṃśa* is to integrate the popular Kṛṣṇa-cult into the previous, hypothetical form of the Viṣṇu-religion that can be a forerunner of the later Bhāgavatism.

⁸⁶⁷ *CII Vol. 3*. No. 4. p. 27. l. 11, No. 7. p. 37. l. 1, No. 8. p. 40. l. 1, No. 12. p. 50. l. 20, 22, 23, No. 13. p. 53. l. 5–6.

⁸⁶⁸ WILLIS 2009: 228.

⁸⁶⁹ WILLIS 2009: 228–229.

⁸⁷⁰ *Valkhā Inscip.* No. 1. p. 1–2.

⁸⁷¹ WILLIS 2009: 229.

⁸⁷² WILLIS 2009: 12–78.

⁸⁷³ *Harivaṃśa* 30.1–57.

⁸⁷⁴ *Harivaṃśa* 30.11.♦.

⁸⁷⁵ *Harivaṃśa* 30.13.♦.

⁸⁷⁶ *Harivaṃśa* 30.18–53.

The same could happen to the Rāma-worship as well. Since there is no early community known, such as the Sātvatas in the case of Kṛṣṇa, in which Rāma would have appeared as the central figure, the origin of his deification is rather overshadowed.

To Rāma, in any case, the so-called Viṣṇupada cult can be a joining point. According to it, the footprints of Viṣṇu-Trivikrama are preserved on the Earth and indicate the place from where the deity ascended to heaven.⁸⁷⁷ Such a pair of footprints may have belonged to the Udayagiri complex,⁸⁷⁸ which, in this way, suggests that the early triad already has been identified with the Vedic Viṣṇu, whose most characteristic trait was his three steps.

In accordance with Brinkhaus's theory, the adoption of the Vedic deity may have involved Rāma's deification as well.⁸⁷⁹ This affirms at once that the worship of Rāma began in the Gupta period,⁸⁸⁰ though the hero of Ayodhyā did not become central figure of the cult until the eleventh century.⁸⁸¹

Besides, Rāmagiri (modern Rāmtek),⁸⁸² the sacred centre of the Vākātakas provides a further trace of the integration of Rāma-Viṣṇu into the imperial pantheon. According to Hans Bakker's plausible theory, it, as its name suggests, was a place where Rāma's footprints were found. This hypothesis is supported by the Ṛddhapur Plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā⁸⁸³ and the *Meghadūta*.⁸⁸⁴ Beyond these written sources, Bakker referred to an archaeological finding, a small tablet of Nagardhāṇ, on which Viṣṇu's or Rāma's footprints were engraved. In his interpretation, it may have been a miniature copy of the hypothetical central one, which was once found on the top of the Rāmtek Hill, supposedly in the place of the present-day Rāma-temple installed by the Yādavas.⁸⁸⁵

Apart from the pair of footprints, the cult of Rāmagiri was probably built on the worship of the Narasiṃha-Nārāyaṇa-Varāha triad. In this way, the site looks like a kind of little brother of Udayagiri,⁸⁸⁶ which at once implies the possible rivalry between the two prestigious sanctuaries.

In fact, the two sacred places differed only in the identification of the footprints. Udayagiri's affinity with Viṣṇu does not require any special explanation in the light of the Trivikrama-legend. However, such a cult in the case of a human incarnation (such

⁸⁷⁷ BAKKER 1991: 21–22.

⁸⁷⁸ WILLIS 2009: 74–75.

⁸⁷⁹ BRINKHAUS 1992: 106.

⁸⁸⁰ RENNER 2012: 64; SIRCAR 1971b: 45–46.

⁸⁸¹ BAKKER 1997: 64.

⁸⁸² DEY 1979: 165.

⁸⁸³ *CII Vol. 5*, No. 8, p. 35. l. 1. •.

⁸⁸⁴ *Meghadūta* 1, 9. •.

⁸⁸⁵ BAKKER 1991: 28–31.

⁸⁸⁶ WILLIS 2009: 74–75.

as Rāma) seems an innovation. According to Bakker, Rāma's relationship with the footprint cult emerges from the *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁸⁸⁷ since his sandals occupied the throne of Ayodhyā during his exile in a similar manner.⁸⁸⁸

In connection with Rāma's presence at Rāmagiri, on the other hand, I do not rule out a kind of political motivation either. As maintained by the imperial theology, Udayagiri was the place from where Viṣṇu started his third step. Thus, another place about four hundred kilometres from it with the same claim could be quite unacceptable. In this way, Rāma, as the closest one to Viṣṇu-Trivikrama⁸⁸⁹ may have been a convenient alternative to relativise the importance of the Vākāṭaka centre.

Finally, Kālidāsa also confirms Rāma's identity as the Supreme One in the *Raghuvamśa*. To distinguish Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, Brinkhaus referred to the heavenly frame of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, according to which the gods ordered Viṣṇu, the only capable person, to destroy Rāvaṇa.⁸⁹⁰ In this way, the story attests Rāma's divine identity, but it (except for a short probable interpolation)⁸⁹¹ apparently introduces Viṣṇu as just one among the many deities.⁸⁹²

In the *Raghuvamśa*, Kālidāsa also elaborates on this story. Although he usually followed the plot of Vālmiki's epic strictly, there are some remarkable changes here. In contrast to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, his description is full of traits that set up Viṣṇu's ultimate superiority. Among others, he eulogised the deity as the Ādipuruṣa,⁸⁹³ the blessed one,⁸⁹⁴ and the ancient sage.⁸⁹⁵ Besides, there are allusions to his cosmic sleep, on the basis of which the so-called *varṣāmāsavrata* rite⁸⁹⁶ was built, which served as an essential part of the Gupta religiosity.⁸⁹⁷

Apart from the characterisation of the deity, there are alterations in the dramaturgy as well. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the celestial beings decided to commission Viṣṇu as their only chance to save the world:

⁸⁸⁷ *Rāmāyaṇa* 2.107.12–22.

⁸⁸⁸ BAKKER 1991: 31–32.

⁸⁸⁹ BRINKHAUS 1992: 106.

⁸⁹⁰ *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.14.17–21.

⁸⁹¹ *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.15.1–6 – This passage containing the only reference to Nārāyaṇa seems to be a later addition, because it, concerning the scenario, does not fit in the context of the canto. (BRINKHAUS 1992: 104.).

⁸⁹² BRINKHAUS 1992: 104.

⁸⁹³ *Raghuvamśa* 10.6.b.

⁸⁹⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 10.36.c.

⁸⁹⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 10.37.a.

⁸⁹⁶ *Viṣṇudharma* 7.13–29.

⁸⁹⁷ WILLIS 2009: 31–33.

tvāṃ niyoksyāmahe Viṣṇo lokānāṃ hita-kāmyayā||⁸⁹⁸

O Viṣṇu, we will employ you, because we want to help the people.

The deities of the *Raghuvamśa*, on the contrary, seem completely embarrassed and they share only their fear with the Supreme One.⁸⁹⁹ His answer for the request is also completely different from the obedience that we find in the epic.⁹⁰⁰ In this case, Viṣṇu rebukes the gods because he, being omniscient, has already been aware of the danger and he, incidentally, should not be reminded of his duty by any deities including Indra. In this way, the passage distinguishes Viṣṇu evidently from the minor deities:

<Viṣṇur devān uvāca>

jāne vo rakṣas'ākrāntāv anubhāva-parākramau|
aṅgināṃ tamas'ēv'ōbhau guṇau prathama-madhyamau||
viditaṃ tapyamānaṃ ca tena me bhuvana-trayam|
a-kām^ōpanaten'ēva sādhor hrdayam enasā||
kāryeṣu c'aika-kāryatvād abhyarthyo 'smi na Vajriṇā|
svayam eva hi vāto 'gneḥ sārathyam pratipadyate||⁹⁰¹

I know your authority and prowess to have been superseded by the demon (Rāvaṇa), as the first and the middle (i. e. second) qualities (*sattva* and *rajas*) of embodied beings (animals) are overpowered by the quality of darkness (the third or *tamas*).

And it is known to me that the three worlds have been oppressed by him, as the heart of a good man by the sin unconsciously committed.

Owing to the sameness of business no request to me in these affairs on the part of Indra is needed. For the wind of itself, assumes the office of a helper to fire.⁹⁰²

To sum up, Kālidāsa seems to have attempted to adjust Vālmīki's work to the taste of his patrons. However, it is also possible that Kālidāsa's awareness of Vaiṣṇava theology was limited. Although he changed the frame story to conform to the spirit of age, he also included Viṣṇu's fourfold manifestation in Daśaratha's sons in the *Raghuvamśa*,⁹⁰³ an archaic feature of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which does not accord with the later indivisible nature of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa.⁹⁰⁴

⁸⁹⁸ *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.14.17.cd.

⁸⁹⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 10.16–35.

⁹⁰⁰ *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.15.7.

⁹⁰¹ *Raghuvamśa* 10.39–41.

⁹⁰² NANDARGIKAR 1971: 308–309.

⁹⁰³ *Raghuvamśa* 10.55–72, 15.96.

⁹⁰⁴ BRINKHAUS 1992: 106.

The king of the waters

Concerning Kālidāsa's ocean description,⁹⁰⁵ it is Rāma's homeward journey that serves as its frame.⁹⁰⁶ However, there is immediately an uncertainty about which place should be understood here as his real home:

*ath'ātmanah śabda-guṇaṃ guṇa-jñāḥ padam vimānena vigāhamānaḥ|
ratnākaram vīksya mithaḥ sa jāyāṃ Rām^ābhīdhāno Harir ity uvāca||*⁹⁰⁷

Then that meritorious Hari called by the name of Rāma, entering on his celestial car, into that region which was his home, and whose quality was sound, looked at the ocean and thus spoke to his wife in private. (transl. with modifications)⁹⁰⁸

Rāma, in fact, departs for Ayodhyā, but he is first described as approaching his own place (*ātmanah padam*) just after he flies up in the sky.⁹⁰⁹ Since Rāma is introduced as Viṣṇu's incarnation in the *Raghuvamśa*,⁹¹⁰ the sky, without doubt, can also be regarded as his home.⁹¹¹ Moreover, the hero looks down from above at the ocean, which is ordinarily regarded as Viṣṇu's resting place, towards which Rāma also starts a journey, since he, having killed Rāvaṇa, has finished his mission.

The verse, on the other hand, can be understood as a criticism of Rāma's behaviour. While the zoomorphic incarnations left the Earth after the completion of their assignments. Rāma chose to continue his human life as the king of Ayodhyā. This decision later caused disgrace for him.

After that, the similarity between Viṣṇu's two abodes, namely the sky and the ocean, becomes the leading motif. Although Rāma takes part in an aerial journey, it is the ocean that develops into the heavenly sphere from his point of view. First, the ocean divided by Nala's dam looks like the sky with the Milky Way:

⁹⁰⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 13.1–17.

⁹⁰⁶ *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.111.1–31.

⁹⁰⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 13.1.

⁹⁰⁸ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 396. – Nandargikar understands the syntagma *ātmanah padam* in a different way, and translates it as follows: “which had been covered by his own foot”.

⁹⁰⁹ The idea of Rāma's own place appears also in the sixteenth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*, where it refers to the sky, Viṣṇu's heavenly home. (*Raghuvamśa* 16.9.♦).

⁹¹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 10.50–73, 15.103.

⁹¹¹ GONDA 1954: 93–94.

<Rāmaḥ Sītām uvāca>

Vaidehi paśy'ā-Malayād vibhaktam mat-setunā phenilam ambu-rāśim|
chāyā-paṭhen'ēva śarat-prasannam ākāśam āviṣ-kr̥ta-tāra-tāram||⁹¹²

Dear Vaidehī, look at the foaming ocean divided as far as the Malaya mountain by means of the bridge, built by me, as the clear autumnal sky displaying beautiful stars, appears divided by the galaxy (or the milky way).⁹¹³

It is, incidentally, not unique for Kālidāsa's poetry to build similes on the likeness of the ocean and the sky. The same idea occurs among others in the contemporary *Setubandha*; however, it is a remarkable difference here that the sky-simile is just one among the many associated with the ocean and it lacks that principal role, which is recognisable in Kālidāsa's description.⁹¹⁴ A more pronounced parallel, on the other hand, is found in the invocation of Yaśodharman's inscription at Mandasaur from the sixth century.⁹¹⁵ According to it, the installer requests blessing from the ocean, which is depicted with a sky-like appearance.⁹¹⁶ In this case, the ocean manifests itself as a kind of divine power praised as the distributor of water, which seems to be quite close to what we find in the *Raghuvamśa*.

The opening sky-simile introduces the celestial character of the ocean, which is expounded by many legends associated with it in the following verses. First, it is connected to Sagara's sixty thousand sons:

<Rāmaḥ Sītām uvāca>

guror yiyakṣoḥ Kapilena pūrvam Rasātalam samkramite turāṅge|
tad-artham ūrvīm avadāradbhiḥ pūrvaiḥ kil'āyam parivardhito naḥ||⁹¹⁷

This, it is said, was enlarged (to its present size) by our ancestors who had excavated the Earth in search of the sacrificial steed of their father, anxious to complete the Horse-sacrifice, when it had been taken down to the nether regions by the sage Kapila.⁹¹⁸

⁹¹² *Raghuvamśa* 13.2.

⁹¹³ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 396–397.

⁹¹⁴ *Setubandha* 2.2.a•.

⁹¹⁵ *CII Vol. 3*. No. 35. p. 152–154.

⁹¹⁶ *CII Vol. 3*. No. 35. p. 152–153 l. 3–4•.

⁹¹⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 13.3.

⁹¹⁸ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 397.

According to the *Mahābhārata*, Agastya drank up the ocean completely and then the Ganges refilled it to purify the ashes of Sagara's sons.⁹¹⁹ In this way, they mutually help each other: the Kosala kings made serious efforts to reconstitute the former majesty of the ocean, while it was in return ready to deliver the members of the dynasty from their sin. The mythological allusion, on the other hand, maintains the connection between the ocean and the sky. Since the Ganges descended from heaven, the ocean made of the celestial water can be regarded a kind of theophany.

In the following verse, there are traits which emphasise further this sky-like form:

garbhaṃ dadhaty arka-marīcayo 'smād <samudrāt> vivṛddhim atr'āśnuvate vasūni|
*ab-indhanaṃ vahnim asau bibharti prahlādanaṃ jyotir ajany anena||*⁹²⁰

From this the rays of the Sun hold a watery foetus; here the marine treasures get an increase. He bears the (Vāḍava) fire whose fuel is water and by him was produced the gladdening light (i. e. the Moon).⁹²¹

The first one of this group is a beautiful depiction of the sunrise. According to the Indian cosmology, the daylight ceases in water, which explains thus its reddish shine at the twilight. On the other hand, when the Sun rises, the daylight emerges and colours the water into pale.⁹²² Kālidāsa seems to be familiar with this thought: he uses it in his sunset description of the *Kumārasambhava*.⁹²³ In this way, his factual poetic image, according to which the Sun takes up his light again through his canal-like rays, appears to be an additional elaboration of the idea.

Some of the commentators, on the other hand, brought attention to the watery nature of the filling (*garbha*) of the sunbeams. According to them, the water that the rays of the Sun extracted from the sea is responsible for the rain.⁹²⁴ This way of interpretation is also supported by another *Raghuvamśa* verse, in which the content of the sunbeams is described as watery.⁹²⁵ In connection with this rain producing role the commentator Nārāyaṇa alone mentioned an allegorical interpretation, according to which

⁹¹⁹ On the report of the *Mahābhārata* the Kāleyas, a group of the demons hid in the ocean after the fall of Vṛtra. Agastya drank up the ocean to help the gods. When the *devas*, in this way, found and killed the demons, they asked the sage to re-emit the ocean. However, their request was not possible then, and it remained unfulfilled until the descending of the Ganges. (*Mahābhārata* 3.99.1–103.19).

⁹²⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 13.4.

⁹²¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 397.

⁹²² *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 2.8.24.c–25•.

⁹²³ *Kumārasambhava* 8.42.•.

⁹²⁴ MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.4.•; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.4.•.

⁹²⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 10.59.•.

the rays, imagined as women, were fertilised by the ocean, and, therefore, they gave birth to children (*garbha*) in the form of rain.⁹²⁶

The second celestial trait is the multitude of pearls or gems, which prosper here. Thus, the ocean, covered by many shining spots, gives again the impression of being the starry sky. The word *vasu*, on the other hand, brings the story about the eight Vasus to mind, though their opposing genders exclude the possibility to hypothesise a *śleṣa* here. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the eight Vasus attained liberation in the flow of the Ganges,⁹²⁷ which has just been identified here with the ocean in accordance with the Sagara-legend. The eight Vasus are, moreover, allegorical figures of several heavenly bodies such as the Moon (Soma), the Polar Star (Dhruva), the Light (Prabhāsa), of the periods of time such as the Dawn (Pratyūṣa), the Day (Ahan) and of natural forces such as the Wind (Anila), the Fire (Anala), the Water (Āpa),⁹²⁸ many of which are associated with the sky.

As the third characteristic of the ocean, the Aurva fire is mentioned. The possession of such a supernatural fire again reminds us of the sky, where the cloud-fire (*megha-vahni*),⁹²⁹ namely the lightning is found. The last image in this verse mentions the Moon, which was also born from the ocean during its churning.⁹³⁰

After the heavenly form has, in this way, been established, it seems appropriate to introduce a higher level of sacredness attributed to the ocean:

tām tām avasthām pratipadyamānaṃ sthitam daśa vyāpya diśo mahimnā|
*Viṣṇor iv'āsy'ān-avadhāraṇīyam idṛkṭayā <samudrasya> rūpam iyattayā vā||*⁹³¹

The form of this ocean which obtains various states, and which on account of its vast expanse, extends over the ten quarters, cannot be defined with reference either to its nature or its measure, as the form of Viṣṇu which attains different states (by *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*)

⁹²⁶ NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.4.♦.

⁹²⁷ According to the *Mahābhārata*, the eight Vasus had to be born on the Earth because of Vasiṣṭha's curse. They asked, therefore, Gaṅgā to prevent their suffering, who, in accordance with the request of the Vasus, gave birth to them as Śaṃtanu's children, and threw them into the Ganges after their birth. In this way, they having achieved liberation got immediately to heaven. However, one of the Vasus called Dyaus (likely identical with Āpa and Dhara) had to spend a longer time on the Earth, since he became Śaṃtanu's oldest son, Bhīṣma. (*Mahābhārata* 1.91.1–93.46).

⁹²⁸ *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 1.15.109.c–110. – A similar enumeration of the Vasus is found in the *Mahābhārata*, however, it reads Dhara in the place of Āpa. (*Mahābhārata* 1.60.17.).

⁹²⁹ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 832.

⁹³⁰ *Mahābhārata* 1.16.33.

⁹³¹ *Raghuvamśa* 13.5.

and in majestic splendour remains occupying the ten quarters, is impossible to be defined as to its nature or its measure.⁹³²

This aspect of the ocean, unsurprisingly, corresponds to Viṣṇu's nature. Because both of them occupy all the ten directions, their forms are undeterminable by either quality or quantity. Their alike shape, on the other hand, is described to be firm. This statement may seem absurd considering the previous wide-ranging nature. Therefore, Kālidāsa's paradoxical announcement looks like a poetic attempt to paraphrase transcendence.

Apart from this, Kālidāsa uses the term *avasthā* for the means, by which the ocean and Viṣṇu are able to expand into the all directions. In the case of the ocean, many of the commentators are of the opinion that this refers to the various states that the ocean possesses.⁹³³ The Keralans, agreeing with this view, added the gems, pearls, and other products of the sea to the *avasthās*,⁹³⁴ while Mallinātha and Jinasamudra rather refer to the ways the ocean appears, and the latter one identified the *avasthās* with all the above-mentioned characteristics of the ocean.⁹³⁵

Relating to Viṣṇu, on the other hand, the explanation of the term similarly divided the interpreters. Some of them like Hemādri and the Keralan commentators identified these *avasthās* with Viṣṇu's *avatāras*. This way of thinking was represented as an alternative by Vallabhadeva.⁹³⁶

Another way of interpretation was offered by Mallinātha, who claimed that the term referred to the three *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas*, *taṃas*), and thus he emphasised Viṣṇu's omnipresence in the world.⁹³⁷ Similarly to him, Vallabhadeva also ascribed a cosmological importance to the term; however, he spoke about three *avasthās* corresponding to the creating, sustaining and destroying functions of the Supreme One.⁹³⁸

Following its similarity to Viṣṇu, the cosmogonic role of the ocean is illuminated:

*nābhi-prarūḍhāmburūhāsanena samstūyamānaḥ prathamena Dhātrā|
amum <samudram> yugāntācīta-yoga-nidraḥ saṃhṛtya lokān puruṣo adhiṣete||*⁹³⁹

⁹³² NANDARGIKAR 1971: 398.

⁹³³ HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.●.

⁹³⁴ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm ad *Ragh* 13.5.●.

⁹³⁵ JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.●.

⁹³⁶ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.●; HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.●.

⁹³⁷ MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.●.

⁹³⁸ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.●.

⁹³⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 13.6.

On which Puruṣa (the Supreme Being) who practises Yoganidrā (i. e. the contemplation-repose) at the end of each quaternion of Yugas takes repose, after having annihilated the worlds, and being praised by the first Creator seated on a lotus sprung from his own navel.⁹⁴⁰

Now, the ocean appears as an eternal entity which serves continuously as a resting place between the apocalypses and the creations of the world for the Supreme One, in whose navel Brahmā sits and praises the Lord.

It is a bit striking, that Rāma apparently shows no awareness of his real identity, while he speaks about the Supreme One to his wife. Rāma's forgetfulness of this detail, incidentally, also appears in the *Setubandha*, where it is, nevertheless, explained by his being preoccupied with his extreme love towards Sītā.⁹⁴¹

In the two remaining verses that conclude the first part of the description, we find an allusion to the old story about Indra's war against the winged mountains, which can serve in this context as an etiological myth of whales. Although the commentators do not share this interpretation, I am quite convinced that the whales are imagined here as the remnants of the former winged mountains:

*pakṣa-cchidā <Indreṇa> gotra-bhid'ātta-garvāḥ
śaranyam enam <samudram> śataśo mahīdbrāḥ|
nrpā iv'ōpaplavinaḥ parebhyo
dharm^ōttaram madhyamam āśrayante||*⁹⁴²

Under which as a place of shelter the mountains by hundreds, having their pride humbled down by Indra (lit. breaker of mountains) who cut off their wings, took refuge, as kings harassed by their enemies solicit a pre-eminently just and neutral monarch.⁹⁴³

To support this view, the *Setubandha* contains a remarkable reference, which compares these animals with the winged mountains.⁹⁴⁴ In Kālidāsa's verse, on the other hand, the ocean, as a virtuous ruler, gives refuge to the troubled mountains.

The last image representing the ocean as a transcendental entity refers to Viṣṇu's boar (*varāha*) incarnation:

*rasātalād ādi-bhavana pumsā
bhuvah prayukt^ōddharana-kriyāyāḥ|*

⁹⁴⁰ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 398.

⁹⁴¹ *Setubandha* 2.38.●.

⁹⁴² *Raghuvamśa* 13.7.

⁹⁴³ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 398–399.

⁹⁴⁴ *Setubandha* 2.14.ab●.

<samudrasya> asy'āccham ambhaḥ pralaya-pravṛddham
muhūrta-vaktr^ābharaṇam babhūva||⁹⁴⁵

The clear waters of this ocean which swelled at the time of deluge served as a momentary veil to the face of the Earth, which was being raised from the nether regions by the first being created (i. e. the Great Boar).⁹⁴⁶

The Varāha, as a member of the Udayagiri triad, may have possessed crucial importance under the Guptas. In the above-mentioned periodical rite of Viṣṇu's sleep, the Varāha is interpreted as the symbol of the awakened deity.⁹⁴⁷ Furthermore, it possesses a cosmogonic significance, since the current aeon (*kalpa*) started with the intervention of the Varāha,⁹⁴⁸ and it is known, therefore, as the age of the white boar (*śveta-varāha-kalpa*).⁹⁴⁹ The divine Boar, in this way, represents the active transcendental power, which creates the world from the chaos embodied in the ocean. Thus, it looks like a cosmic ferryman between the transcendent and the immanent world.

This role of the Varāha, incidentally, corresponds to the literary structure of Kālidāsa's description. The Varāha's occurrence concludes the verses about the supernatural ocean and its raising of the created world from the waters introduces a new series of verses that present the natural aspects of the ocean.

After the description of the Varāha, the celestial viewpoint of the poet, from which the ocean was seen as a whole unit, disappears, and a more or less human one replaces it. With the opening of this new perspective, the dynamism which generally characterises Kālidāsa's landscapes also returns. The remaining verses about the ocean represent thus the first real snapshots of Rāma's homeward journey.

The theme of the aerial trip, on the other hand, provides a new, vertical dimension to the description. In this way, the continuous vertical and horizontal change of the poetic view distinguishes Kālidāsa's way of description, which was compared to camera work (*Kameraführung*) by Dieter Back in his study on the *Meghadūta*.⁹⁵⁰

His poetic "aerial photography" starts from an extremely high position, though it is definitely not a heavenly one. The first image in this manner focuses on the relationship between the ocean and the river mouths. Their confluences are imagined as places where the ocean, resembling a lover, becomes one with his river-wives:

⁹⁴⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 13.8.

⁹⁴⁶ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 399.

⁹⁴⁷ WILLIS 2009: 44.

⁹⁴⁸ RENNER 2012: 85.

⁹⁴⁹ RENNER 2012: 72.

⁹⁵⁰ BACK 1989: 322.

*mukh^ârpaṇeṣu prakṛti-pragalbhāḥ svayaṁ taraṅ^âdhara-dāna-dakṣāḥ|
an-anya-sāmānya-kalattrā-vṛttiḥ pivaty asau <samudraḥ> pāyayate ca sindhūḥ||*⁹⁵¹

This ocean whose mode of enjoying a wife is different from that of others, and who is clever in offering his lips of waves, drinks the rivers himself, which are naturally bold in offering their mouths, and also causes them to drink himself.⁹⁵²

Kālidāsa, in this case, elaborates on an epic topos, according to which the ocean is the husband of the rivers (*saritām pati*).⁹⁵³ Actually, this old cliché transforms into a beautiful kissing scene in Kālidāsa's verse, and likewise in Pravarasena's poem.⁹⁵⁴ Although both of them place the glorious ocean in an unusual, amorous role, Kālidāsa seems careful enough to simultaneously uphold its former majesty. In this way, the ocean is not humbled as a womaniser, but its royal rank is asserted here, because it, just like an earthly king, is depicted as possessing a large harem of the rivers.

The occurrence of the river mouths, on the other hand, shows the advance of Rāma's *vimāna*. Therefore, the subsequent verses are the last shots before approaching the mainland. After the progress, the poetic viewpoint stops for a minute here and starts to descend, which at once demonstrates Kālidāsa's famous zoom technic.⁹⁵⁵ As a result, the ocean as the main subject passes from sight and it is substituted by its various living beings, while the horizontal movement of the perspective ceases.

First, in accordance with the smooth focusing of the poetic zoom lens, the biggest sea animals, the whales (*timī*) become visible:

*sa-sattvam ādāya sarin-mukh^âmbhāḥ sammīlayanto vivṛt^ānanatvam|
amī śirobhis timayaḥ sa-randhrāir ūrdhvaṁ vitanvanti jala-pravāhān||*⁹⁵⁶

Look here, these whales on account of their mouths being open having taken in the water at the mouths of the rivers, together with the aquatic creatures in it, toss upwards by closing their jaws the streams of water through their perforated heads.⁹⁵⁷

Drinking from the river mouth, the whales occupy the place which the ocean as the rivers' husband has taken up previously. Thus, the emergence of the whales continues the erotic atmosphere and the former allegorical approach, in parallel, transforms into

⁹⁵¹ *Raghuvamśa* 13.9.

⁹⁵² NANDARGIKAR 1971: 399–400.

⁹⁵³ PONTILLO – ROSSI 2003: 179.

⁹⁵⁴ *Setubandha* 2.27.a.

⁹⁵⁵ BACK 1989: 329.

⁹⁵⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 13.10.

⁹⁵⁷ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 400.

naturalism. Although Sunder Lal Hora suggested earlier that the word *timi* might have referred to sharks,⁹⁵⁸ Kālidāsa's very accurate description about their habits seems convincing enough that whales are meant by this term. The realism of the image, on the other hand, hints at Kālidāsa's familiarity with these animals.

Besides, the presence of the whales seems to fit in the context of the leading king-simile. Bearing in mind Kālidāsa's former allusion to their origin, these animals may embody the vassals of the ocean imagined as a king. In this way, they collect water as tax, some of which they retain, some of which they give back to the ocean.

As an additional royal symbol, "the elephants of the ocean" appear in the next verse:

<*Rāmaḥ Sītām uvāca*>

mātāṅga-nakraiḥ sahas'ōtpatadbhir bhinnān dvidhā paśya samudra-phenān|
*kapola-saṃsarpitayā ya eṣāṃ vrajanti karṇa-kṣaṇa-cāmaratvam||*⁹⁵⁹

Look at the foam of the ocean severed into two parts by the Hippopotamuses [dolphins] that jump up all of a sudden above the surface of water, – the foams that on account of their gliding by their cheeks go to the state of (become) their ear-chowries for a time.⁹⁶⁰

Unless we accept Hemādri's suggestion, which is incidentally mentioned as an alternative in Vallabhadeva's commentary as well, about the possibility of sea elephants,⁹⁶¹ Kālidāsa's idiom *mātāṅga-nakra* should be comprehended as a metaphor (*rūpaka*), which, in this way, refers to a kind of sea animal (*nakra*) that looks like an elephant.

The identity of the *nakras*, however, is not certain. They are glossed as *makara*⁹⁶² or *grāha*⁹⁶³ by the commentators, by which synonyms various sea monsters are usually meant. Nandargikar and Upadhyaya, therefore, rendered the whole compound as hippopotamus, which is a rather fanciful translation.⁹⁶⁴

Another more possible way of the interpretation is provided by the dictionaries, which understand it as crocodile.⁹⁶⁵ It is actually true that Kālidāsa used the word in this sense, when he compared the disappointed suitors at Indumatī's *svayaṃvara* to lakes containing crocodiles,⁹⁶⁶ because these animals are a common symbol of

⁹⁵⁸ HORA 1952: 68.

⁹⁵⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 13.11.

⁹⁶⁰ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 400.

⁹⁶¹ HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 13.11.; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.11.♦.

⁹⁶² JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.11; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.11.

⁹⁶³ MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.11.

⁹⁶⁴ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 400; UPADHYAYA 1947: 26.

⁹⁶⁵ BÖHTLINGK – ROTH 1865: 7; MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 524.

⁹⁶⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 7.30.♦.

unexpected danger in Sanskrit literature.⁹⁶⁷ Furthermore, saltwater crocodiles (*Crocodylus porosus*), in fact, inhabit the eastern coast of the Peninsula,⁹⁶⁸ which can be an additional argument for this supposition.

On the other hand, because the *nakras* are depicted as jumping forth from the waves, this image can easily remind one of the dolphins. Furthermore, my impression is that the crocodiles and the dolphins somehow coalesced in the term *nakra*. Its reason, perhaps, is the similarity between the Ganges river dolphin (*Platanista gangetica gangetica*) and the *gharial* (*Gavialis gangeticus*), which are easily mistaken for each other from a great distance because of their characteristic long beaks.

In this way, Kālidāsa's *nakra* concept seems to be twofold. He, on the one hand, follows the old topos and identifies *nakras* with the mugger crocodile (*Crocodylus palustris*), that is to say, the common Indian freshwater crocodile. On the other hand, the word can also refer to dolphins, especially in the context of the ocean. The long-beaked river dolphins live not only in the Ganges but in the Indus also.⁹⁶⁹ Because Kālidāsa's poetic perspective here concentrates on the confluences, it is possible that these river dolphins are depicted here.

The waves, among which the dolphins appear, connect this verse to the following one, in which the smaller snakes come into view in the same circumstances. The sea snakes moving forward towards the coastal wind are immersed in the frothy water and only the shining gems of their hoods make them visible. In this way, the verse establishes the incredible richness of the ocean:

vel^ānilāya prasr̥tā bhujāṅgā mah^ormi-visphūrjita-nirviśeṣāḥ|
sūry^āṁśu-samparka-samṛddha-rāgair vyajyanta ete maṇibhiḥ phaṇa-sthaiḥ||⁹⁷⁰

These serpents which have stretched themselves on the beach, in order to breathe the sea-breeze, and which do not differ from the swelling appearance of the large waves, can (only) be distinguished by the jewels on their hoods the lustre of which is enhanced by their contact with the rays of the Sun (shining upon them).⁹⁷¹

The gem-possessing snakes, on the other hand, are among the typical hallmarks of the ocean. Their appearance is usually connected to the blowing of the wind, which is sometimes associated with Garuḍa, the great snake-killer.⁹⁷² The snakes are, moreover,

⁹⁶⁷ OLIVELLE 2006: 27.

⁹⁶⁸ ALLEN 1974: 553.

⁹⁶⁹ BRAULIK 2015: 111.

⁹⁷⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 13.12.

⁹⁷¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 400–401.

⁹⁷² *Raghuvamśa* 4.43. (See p. 34.); *Śiśupālavadha* 3.77.♦.

regarded as ambivalent creatures. They are, on the one hand, quite venomous, on the other hand, they possess marvellous treasures. Pravarasena creatively compares the whole ocean to a giant serpent, which, notwithstanding its terrible outward form, is full of treasures.⁹⁷³

Finally, the tiniest beings of the sea, namely corals and conches come into view:

<Rāmaḥ Sītām uvāca>

tav'ādhara-spardhiṣu vidrumeṣu paryastam etat sahas'ormi-vegāt|
*ūrdhv^āṅkura-protā-mukhaṁ kathaṅ-cit kleśād apakrāmati śaṅkha-yūtham||*⁹⁷⁴

The shoals of conch-shells with their heads transfixed at their jutting points, being dashed at once by the force of the billows against the reefs (rocks) of corals that vie with thy lips, glide away with great difficulty.⁹⁷⁵

Although the realistic way of the description does not disappear, Rāma's eyes, through which the image is depicted, turn into divine eyes again, otherwise it is unimaginable to perceive such scaled-down animals as conches from the sky.

The conch-shells, just like the dolphins and the snakes, are connected to the waves, which toss them on to the pointed corals, from where they can move away only with great difficulty. The Keralan scholars interpreted the attachment of the white shells to the reddish corals in quite a unique way. According to them, while the corals are similar to lips that emulate Sītā's, the conch-shells represent a shining smile.⁹⁷⁶

There is a sudden change back from the close-up to a long shot. The whole ocean returns for a moment to conclude the panorama. This time, it shows a less hospitable face. Its whirlpool turns around a drinking cloud, which evokes the legendary churning of the ocean.⁹⁷⁷ Thus, the closing allusion to the mythological past reminds us of the previously discussed transcendental nature of the ocean:

pravṛtta-mātrena payāṃsi pātum āvarta-vegād bhramatā ghanena|
*ābhāti bhūyiṣṭham itaḥ samudraḥ pramathyamāṇo giriṇ'ēva bhūyah||*⁹⁷⁸

⁹⁷³ *Setubandha* 2.25.ab•.

⁹⁷⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 13.13.

⁹⁷⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 401.

⁹⁷⁶ ARUNAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.13.♦; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.13.♦.

⁹⁷⁷ *Mahābhārata* 1.15.4–17.30; *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.44.14–27.

⁹⁷⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 13.14.

This ocean on account of the cloud which as soon as it begins to drink water from it is made to turn round (and round) by the force of the whirlpool, appears in a great way to be, as it were, churned again by the mountain (Mandāra).⁹⁷⁹

Finally, Kālidāsa compares the sea to a sword, the spotted blade of which the appearing coast embodies:

<Rāmaḥ Sītām uvāca>

nistrimśa-kalpasya nidher jalānām eṣā tamāla-druma-rāji-nīlā|
*dūrād arāla-bhru vibhāti velā kalaṅka-lekhā-malin'ēva dhārā||*⁹⁸⁰

O [beautiful] woman with crooked eyebrows, the seaside darkened by the row of the *tamāla*-trees looks from afar like the blade of the sword-shaped ocean which is soiled by a line of dirty spots.

According to Vallabhadeva, the dirt, which manifests itself as spotted streaks on the seaside, corresponds to the coastal *tamāla*-trees.⁹⁸¹ The Kashmirian scholar, in this way, associated the dirt of the sword with a dark colour, which way of interpretation I behold less possible, because iron objects are usually soiled by reddish brown rust. Therefore, I suggest that the dark trees of the seaside correlate with the water, while the patches of ground appearing among the tree lines are equivalent with the rust spots on it. The main role of the sword-simile, on the other hand, is to represent the horizontal progress of Rāma's carriage. In this way, the verse is a link between the ocean and the mainland, since both of them are portrayed at the same time here.

The other recensions, however, contain a quite different variant here:

dūrād ayaś-cakra-nibhasya tanvī tamāla-tālī-vana-rāji-nīlā|
*ābhāti velā lavaṇ'āmburāśer dhārā-nibaddh'ēva kalaṅka-rekhā||*⁹⁸²

The strand of the briny ocean resembling an iron-wheel which is dark on account of the row of *tamāla* and *tālī* forests, and which appeared like a slender line owing to distance, looks like a thin coating of rust formed on the edge of a steel-wheel.⁹⁸³

In this case, the ocean materialises as an iron wheel, the rust of which is identified with the coast. The wheel-like roll of the ocean carries on the previous whirlpool image. Although the seaside arises here also, the verse is mainly dedicated to describe the

⁹⁷⁹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 401.

⁹⁸⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 13.15.

⁹⁸¹ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.15.♦.

⁹⁸² *Raghuvamśa Ned* 13.15.

⁹⁸³ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 402.

ocean, and therefore the horizontal advance is less vigorous. As its result, the former symmetry between the ocean and the coast, on which the sword simile is built, disappears as well.

Between the two different verses, the Keralan version seems a transitional one:

dūrād ayaś-cakra-nibhasya tanvī tamāla-tālī-vana-rāji-nīlā|
*ābhāti velā lavan^ambu-rāṣeḥ kalaṅka-rekhā-malin'ēva dhārā||*⁹⁸⁴

Because the fourth *pāda* of their reading was identical with Vallabhadeva's, they interpreted the word *ayaś-cakra* as a discus, the blade of which was rusty. The only imaginable motivation I find behind the replacement of the sword with an iron wheel is to harmonise the image with the whirling form of the ocean. However, for the remaining commentators, the sharpened wheels may have been unusual, and therefore they may have modified the verse further.

THE HIMĀLAYA

In Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa* the mountains just like the ocean are listed among the typical topics of the *sargabandhas*.⁹⁸⁵ In this way, it is not surprising that the mountain as a literary topic resembles the ocean in many aspects. They are equally ambivalent places, which are regarded heavenly in spite of the fact that uncivilised people inhabit them.

Furthermore, the vertical, or even phallic appearance of the mountains sometimes implies an even closer association with the king than the ocean has. They have been identified with the pillars of the Earth since the epic period, and thus they are often mentioned under such names as *bhū-dhara*, *bhū-bhṛt*, etc. all of which literally mean "Earth-bearer" and can refer either to kings or to mountains.⁹⁸⁶

Besides, the mountains as the starting points of orientation also play an important role in the ancient geographical works. Each region is, in this way, coupled with the corresponding mountain ranges in Rājaśekhara's geographical account.⁹⁸⁷ Indian cosmology, on the other hand, attributes a special importance to the so-called *kulaparvatas*, which are the seven most prominent ranges (Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛkṣavat, Vindhya and Pāriyātra) that divide the Indian Subcontinent (Bhāratavarṣa) into seven parts.⁹⁸⁸

⁹⁸⁴ *Raghuvamśa* *Ked* 13.15.

⁹⁸⁵ *Kāvyaḍarśa* 1.16. (See p. 296. App. n. 839.).

⁹⁸⁶ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 761.

⁹⁸⁷ *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* 17. p. 93–94.

⁹⁸⁸ KIRFEL 1990: 61.

Their significance in topography, furthermore, influences royal titles as well, since some mountains function as synecdoche alluding to the whole country surrounding them. In this way, there are royal titles formed from the name of the characteristic local mountains. The *Mahābhārata*, for example, many times refers to the Pāṇḍya king as the one, whose banner bears the Malaya (*Malaya-dhvaja*).⁹⁸⁹ In Kalinga, on the other hand, the Mahendra acquired similar importance, which possibly influenced Kālidāsa in giving the title of the lord of Mahendra to the local chief.⁹⁹⁰ Kalinga was, incidentally, the home of the Śailodbhavas as well, who derived their royal house straight from the Mahendra.⁹⁹¹

Concerning the list of the seven, chief mountain-ranges, the absence of the Himālaya may be striking. However, this omission does not matter, because the highest range of the Earth has a greater importance in Indian cosmography. It is grouped into the so-called *varṣaparvatas* (Himālaya, Hemakūṭa, Niṣadha, Nīla, Śveta, Śṛṅgavat), which are representatives of the spheres (*varṣa*) of the Earth. In this group, the Himālaya is the only *varṣaparvata* that belongs to Bhāratavarṣa,⁹⁹² and therefore, the seven *kulaparvatas* seem to be its subordinates.

This distinct position of the Himālaya, on the other hand, harmonises well with the idea of the empire, because the highest mountain range, just as a human emperor, rules over the whole Earth, on which the remaining mountains of the several regions embody the feudatory chiefs.

To sum up, the image of the great mountain lord seems to be the other central symbol of the king in Kālidāsa's poetry. For its investigation, the *Kumārasambhava* is undisputedly the main source. However, the symbolism sometimes is less self-evident here, because the Himālaya has at least three different roles in this work.

First of all, it serves as a venue for the whole poem. From this view, it is a wonderful, heavenly place, where the great events of the celestial world take place. The Himālaya, on the other hand, is not only a place, but it is an actual character of the epic as well.⁹⁹³ He is Pārvatī's father, who finally merits to be Śiva's father-in-law. In this case, the Himālaya, though it has a divine rank, is not more than the king of the mountains.

Thus, we arrive at the third role, in which the Himālaya, just as the ocean, becomes the real lord of the whole world. It is this aspect that the beginning verses of the *Kumārasambhava* develop.

Since the royal office, on the other hand, is closely connected to the divine powers, we cannot fail to take notice of the transcendental influence with regard to the Himālaya. Here, in contrast to the ocean, it is Śiva whose presence determines the landscape. However, he is not a very typical emperor and therefore the royal attributes of the

⁹⁸⁹ *Mahābhārata* 2.28.53.b*15.65, 2.28.53.b*15.74, 8.15.19.d.

⁹⁹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 4.45.c, 6.54.b.

⁹⁹¹ KULKE – ROTHERUMUND 2002: 125.

⁹⁹² KIRFEL 1990: 57.

⁹⁹³ *Kumārasambhava* 6.50–7.1, 7.54–55, 7.76, 7.93, 8.21.

Himālaya seem, at first sight, independent from him. The great deity apparently stays in the background of the image and serves as the first, deducible cause of all the depicted mountain miracles. Thus, the Himālaya possesses an immanent kingship, which is described in the verses, while Śiva's presence remains unrevealed, though it is strongly suggested in the context of the whole poem. Therefore, the claim to divide the structure of the description into two parts, just as in the case of the Ocean, stays unfulfilled, nevertheless, the investigation of the two distinct aspects can also make sense here.

Śiva's home

Aside from their connection to the king, all the mountains by nature have a strong affinity with Śiva, the other central deity of Hinduism. The interpretation of this relationship in the context of the kingship, however, does not lack some problems, which are mainly caused by Śiva's complex personality. Furthermore, it seems probable that Kālidāsa was also a worshipper of Śiva,⁹⁹⁴ which necessarily resulted in a special synthesis between his personal belief and the Gupta *Bhāgavatism* in his poetical works.

To associate Śiva with the Himālaya is, by all means, an obvious choice. The great deity is at least as closely connected to all the mountains as Viṣṇu to the ocean. Many of them are clearly honoured as Śiva's *liṅga*.⁹⁹⁵ The priority of the Himālaya among them, nevertheless, seems unquestionable, since it is regarded to be Śiva's eternal home.

In this way, the highest mountain is the place where people get the chance to see the great deity. Although there are heavenly mansions and fairy groves in the Himālaya, like Kubera's Alakā, Śiva usually does not find pleasure in them. On the contrary, he lives alone in a secret place, where he can concentrate wholly on religious austerities.⁹⁹⁶ Thus, he, being far from the people, is imagined as inaccessible as the Himālaya itself.

On the other hand, Śiva often disguises himself intentionally before those, who make efforts to make him glad. Furthermore, he many times puts obstacles in the way of religious practitioners to ascertain their conviction.

This kind of hindrance of penance was, incidentally, Indra's favoured activity in the epic literature.⁹⁹⁷ Because the king of the gods was the main beneficiary of the Vedic sacrifices, his malice towards ascetics is understandable. Unlike him, Śiva, who gradually inherited this role of creating obstacles, is a great supporter of ascetic life. In this way, the obstacles caused by him are not mischievous, but they serve as tests, which finally result in greater glory. The most recognised example for this is evidently the

⁹⁹⁴ FELLER 2012: 324.

⁹⁹⁵ GRABOWSKA 2005: 12.

⁹⁹⁶ *Kumārasambhava* 1.53–56.

⁹⁹⁷ The *Mahābhārata* is full of stories in which Indra tried to hinder the ascetic efforts of several virtuous people like Dadhīca (9.50.5–21), Kuru (9.52.4–16), Viśvāmitra (1.65.19–66.8), etc.

Kirāta episode of the *Mahābhārata*.⁹⁹⁸ Kālidāsa also elaborates on the topic in the *Kumārasambhava*, in which Śiva visits Pārvatī disguised as a rude *brāhmaṇa* to ascertain her devotion.⁹⁹⁹

Apart from Śiva's hidden form, the other principal hallmark, a bit paradoxically, is his omnipresence. The so-called *Aṣṭamūrti*-doctrine serves as its theological base. Kālidāsa refers to Śiva's eight forms in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*¹⁰⁰⁰ and in his *sargabandhas*,¹⁰⁰¹ but he outlines it at length only in the invocation (*nāndī*) of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*:

yā sṛtiḥ sraṣṭur ādyā vahati vidhi-hutaṃ yā havir yā ca hotrī
ye dve kālāṃ vidhattaḥ śruti-viśaya-guṇā yā sthitā vyāpya viśvam|
yām āhuḥ sarva-bīja-prakṛtir iti yayā prāṇinaḥ prāṇavantaḥ
pratyakṣābhiḥ prapannas tanubhir avatu vas tābhir aṣṭābhir Īśaḥ||¹⁰⁰²

May God, kindly disposed, protect us with eight manifest bodies: The first creation of the creator, that drinks the ritual offering, and the offering, the sacrifice, the two which regulate time, that which pervades the universe, audible to the ear, that which is called "the source of all seeds," and that which gives living beings their vital energy!¹⁰⁰³

The essence of this doctrine is that each element of the whole world is identified as a form of Śiva.¹⁰⁰⁴ It is, thus, a cosmological teaching, which is generally known from the *purāṇas*. These sources identify Śiva's eight bodies with the five elements (fire, water, earth, air, ether), the Sun, the Moon and the person of the sacrificer.¹⁰⁰⁵

The quite pronounced position of the *Aṣṭamūrti* doctrine in Kālidāsa's dramas, moreover, suggested a special importance to Barbara Stoler Miller. She supposed that the teaching transformed into a kind of poetic mission in his works, and therefore, his landscapes serve to demonstrate Śiva's omnipresent greatness.¹⁰⁰⁶

These two characteristics of the deity, in any case, are not among those typical ones, which one might expect from a ruler. On the one hand, his ascetic form embodies the idea of the renunciatory lifestyle, which results in a greater glory than kingship does. This possibly corresponds to the thinking of the contemporary Śaivas, since their distance from partaking of the leading role in the imperial cult can only give hope of a greater compensation in the afterlife.

⁹⁹⁸ *Mahābhārata* 3.40.1–41.26.

⁹⁹⁹ *Kumārasambhava* 5.29–85.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Mālavikāgnimitra* 1.1. p. 4. •.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Kumārasambhava* 1.56.b, 7.76.b, 7.86.c; *Raghuvamśa* 2.35.c.

¹⁰⁰² *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 1.1. p. 50.

¹⁰⁰³ VASUDEVA 2006: 51.

¹⁰⁰⁴ MEINHARD 1928: 9.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Kūrma-purāṇa* 10.26; *Linga-purāṇa* 2.13.1–27.

¹⁰⁰⁶ STOLER MILLER 1984: 224–225.

Śiva's eight forms, on the other hand, are similarly difficult to fit in the paradigm of kingship. He, contrary to Viṣṇu, does not need any consort, since he himself is the whole world alone. The *Kumārasambhava*, though it elaborates on Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī, ends with the complete merging of the female and male principles of the presumably one God. As the great poet says, Pārvatī takes possession of Śiva's half-body:

a-khaṇḍitaṃ prema labhasva patyur ity ucyate tābhir Umā sma namrā|
*tayā tu tasy'ārdha-śarīra-lābhāt paścāt-kṛtā snigdha-jan^āśiṣo 'pi||*¹⁰⁰⁷

"May you receive unbroken love from your husband!" So they said to Umā as she bowed down to them. But by gaining half his body she exceeded the blessings of those who loved her.¹⁰⁰⁸

This statement in literal sense, perhaps, alludes to Śiva's *Ardhanārīśvara* form, the first representations of which go back to the Kushan period.¹⁰⁰⁹ This kind of completeness of the god could also be expressed in the Pārvatī-Parameśvarau *dvam̐dva* compound in the invocation of the *Raghuvamśa*:

vāg-arthāu iva samprktau vāg-artha-pratipattaye|
*jagataḥ pitarau vande Pārvatī-Param^eśvarau||*¹⁰¹⁰

For the right understanding (or the proper knowledge) of words, and their meanings, I bow down to Pārvatī and Parameśvara, the greatest of the gods, who are the parents of the universe (or creation) and the perpetual relation (or constant union) between whom is as close as the one subsisting between words and their meanings.¹⁰¹¹

In this way, Śiva's universal, all-encompassing figure seems to be higher than the dualistic conception of the kingship centred on Viṣṇu.

Nevertheless, it may not be an utterly vain claim to suppose some correspondence between Śiva and the king. As we have seen earlier, the Himālaya is inherently the symbol of the emperor. Since it is at once influenced by Śiva's fame, the deity also should have some royal attitudes.

He is often named as Uṣṇīṣin, the one who wears a turban in some early texts,¹⁰¹² which likely alludes to his royal rank.¹⁰¹³ In Vākāṭaka sculpture, this Uṣṇīṣin form is, moreover, developed into the representation of Śiva's earthly (*sakala*) manifestation,

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Kumārasambhava* 7.28.

¹⁰⁰⁸ SMITH 2005: 263.

¹⁰⁰⁹ GOLDBERG 2013: 634.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 1.1.

¹⁰¹¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 2.

¹⁰¹² *Mahābhārata* 7.173.24.a, 13.17.43.c, 14.8.16.a; *Yajurveda Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 4.5.3.1.h. p. 380.

¹⁰¹³ BAKKER 1997: 71.

on which the turban (*uṣṇīṣa*) may signify his royal status.¹⁰¹⁴ This also corresponds to the fact that the Vākāṭakas, unlike their main allies, the Guptas, favoured Śaivism most of the time.¹⁰¹⁵

Pravarasena II, for example, regarded himself as agent of the greater emperor embodied by Śiva, since he often pronounced in his inscriptions that he established the *Kṛta yuga* on the Earth by the grace of the great deity.¹⁰¹⁶ The inscriptional sources, on the other hand, attest that it was the *Taittirīya* school of the black *Yajurveda*, which was responsible for the elaboration of the local royal form of the Śiva religion.¹⁰¹⁷ As its result, a rather orthodox Śaiva cult may have arisen under the Vākāṭakas.

A similar attempt to harmonise with the *brāhmaṇic* orthodoxy is also apparent in Kālidāsa's works. Actually, the above-mentioned idea that the world consists of the eight bodies of the Supreme One, first occurs in the later Vedic literature.¹⁰¹⁸ Although Kālidāsa's list differs from those of the earlier sources, his choice to paraphrase the Supreme One with Vedic terminology could be welcomed by all the *brāhmaṇas*.

In the opening verse of the *Vikramorvaśīya*, he, moreover, identifies the highest person (*eka-puruṣa*) of the *upaniṣads* with Śiva, which correlates with that form of Śaivism that the Vākāṭaka monuments attest:

*ved^ānteṣu yam āhur eka-puruṣam vyāpya sthitam rodasī
yasminn Īsvara ity an-anya-viṣayaḥ śabda yath^ārth^ākṣaraḥ|
antaryā ca mumukṣubhir niyamita-prāṇ^ādibhir mṛgyate
sa Sthānuḥ sthira-bhakti-yoga-su-labho niḥśreyasāy'āstu vaḥ||*¹⁰¹⁹

Books speak of him as the one person who fills all space. The word "God" applies literally and only to him. Those who want to be free control their breath and search for him deep inside. He is Sthānu, the Pillar, easy to find by steady attention. May he bless you with what is best.¹⁰²⁰

Among the imperial Guptas, however, Śaivism never became a royal religion.¹⁰²¹ Of course, this does not mean that the Gupta rulers did not support Śaiva believers. Quite the contrary, religious tolerance, as Hans Bakker set it forth through the example of Udayagiri, was an elemental part of their imperial policy.¹⁰²² It, moreover, seems

¹⁰¹⁴ BAKKER 1997: 96.

¹⁰¹⁵ BISSCHOP 2010b: 478.

¹⁰¹⁶ BISSCHOP 2010b: 479.

¹⁰¹⁷ BISSCHOP 2010b: 479; WILLIS 2009: 221–222.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa* 6.1.1–3.52 p. 24–25; *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* 6.1.3.9–18 p. 506–507.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Vikramorvaśīya* 1.1. p. 4.

¹⁰²⁰ RAO – SHULMAN 2009: 5.

¹⁰²¹ BISSCHOP 2010b: 478.

¹⁰²² BAKKER 2010: 461–464.

established that a few prominent members of the imperial court were the worshippers of Śiva.¹⁰²³

Yet, the *Kumārasambhava* suggests that the Śaiva religion, in spite of its imperial patronage as well as its Vedic features, may have caused revulsion in many people. When Śiva tested Pārvatī's devotion, he visited her in the guise of a rude *brāhmaṇa*. He expressed a sharp criticism of Śiva, which may point at those characteristics of Śaivism which could disgust the orthodoxy:

<brahmacārī Pārvatīm uvāca>

*a-vastu-nirbandha-pare katham nu te karo 'yam ābaddha-vivāha-kautukaḥ|
karena Sambhor valayī-kṛt^āhinā sahisyate tat-pratham^āvalambanam||
tvam eva tāvat paricintaya svayaṁ kadā-cid ete yadi yogam arhataḥ|
vadhū-dugūlaṁ ca sa-haṁsa-lakṣaṇaṁ gaj^ājinaṁ śonita-bindu-varṣi ca||
catuṣka-puṣpa-prakar^āvākīrṇayoh paro 'pi ko nāma tav^ānumamṣyate|
alaktak^āṅkāni padāni pādayor vikīrṇa-keśāsu pareta-bhūmiṣu||
a-yukta-rūpaṁ kim ataḥ paraṁ vada Trinetra-vakṣaḥ-su-labhaṁ tav^āpi yat|
stana-dvaye 'smin hari-candan^āspade padaṁ citā-bhasma-rajah karisyati||
iyam ca te 'nyā purato vidambanā yad ūdhayā vāraṇa-rāja-hāryayā|
vilokya vṛddh^ōkṣam adhiṣṭhitam tvayā mahā-janaḥ smerā-mukho bhaviṣyati||
dvayaṁ gataṁ samprati śocanīyatām samāgama-prārthanayā Kapālinah|
kalā ca sā kāntimatī kalāvatas tvam asya lokasya ca netra-kaumudī||
vapūr virūp^ākṣam a-lakṣya-janmatā dig-ambaratvena niveditam vasu|
vareṣu yad bāla-mṛg^ākṣi mṛgyate tad asti kim vyastam api Trilocane||¹⁰²⁴*

My lady, you're intent on securing what is worthless! How will this hand of yours, when the marriage string's tied on, bear to rest for the first time on "Peaceful" Śiva's arm brace-letted by a coiled snake?

Just work it out for yourself, whether these two could ever be worthy of union: the bride's fine linen robe adorned with geese and the elephant's hide dripping blood.

Your feet are used to stepping through flower-strewn pavilions – would even an enemy allow them to make their marks of red lac in burning grounds littered with hair of the dead? (transl. with modifications)

Tell me what's more unfitting than this – that dust of ash from funeral pyres, all too familiar to the chest of Three-eyed Śiva, is going to settle on your breasts where yellow sandal paste has its rightful place?

And this is another humiliation you'll have to face – when you're married and ready to ride on a royal elephant, the populace will laugh to see you mounted on the old bull.

¹⁰²³ BISSCHOP 2010b: 478.

¹⁰²⁴ *Kumārasambhava* 5.65–71.

Now there're two things to grieve for because they seek union with the Skull-bearer: both the lovely crescent of the Moon and yourself, moonlight for the eyes of the world. His body has a deformed eye, his birth's obscure, his nakedness shows his wealth. O fawn-eyed lady, does Three-eyed Śiva in any way have what is looked for in bridegrooms?¹⁰²⁵

Pārvatī's answer, therefore, seems to be a Śaiva apology for the common accusations:

<Pārvatī> uvāca c'ainaṃ <brahmacāriṇaṃ> param^ārthato Haraṃ
na vetsy nūnaṃ yata evaṃ āttha mām|
a-loka-sāmānyam a-cintya-hetukaṃ
dviṣanti mandās caritaṃ mah^ātmanām||
vipat-pratikāra-pareṇa maṅgalaṃ niṣevyate bhūti-samutsukena vā|
jagac-charanyasya nir-āśiṣaḥ sataḥ kim ebhir āś^ōpahaṭ^ātma-vṛttibhiḥ||
a-kim-canaḥ san prabhavaḥ sa sampadāṃ sa loka-nāthaḥ pitṛ-sadma-gocaraḥ|
sa bhīma-rūpaḥ Śiva ity udiryate na santi yāthārthya-vidaḥ pinākinaḥ||
vibhūṣaṇ^ōdbhāsi pinaddha-bhogi vā gaj^ājin^ālambi dukūla-dhāri vā|
kapāli vā syād atha v'ēndu-sēkharaṃ na Viśva-mūrter avadhāryate vapuḥ||
tad-aṅga-saṃsparśam avāpya kalpate dhruvaṃ citā-bhasma-rajo viśuddhaye|
tathā hi nṛtt^ābhinaya-kriyā-cyutaṃ vilupyate maulibhir ambar^aukasām||
a-sampadās tasya vṛṣeṇa gacchataḥ prabhinna-dig-vāraṇa-vāhano Vṛṣā|
karoti pādāv upagamyā maulinā vi-nidra-mandāra-rajo^'ruṇ^āṅgulī||
vivakṣatā doṣam api cyut^ātmanā tvay'aikam īśaṃ prati sādhu bhāṣitam|
yam āmananty Ātmabhuvo 'pi kāraṇaṃ kathaṃ sa laksya-prabhavo bhaviṣyati||¹⁰²⁶

And she said to him, “For sure you don't really know Śiva the Destroyer, since you speak thus to me. Dull people hate the deeds of the great-souled, different from those of the world, incomprehensible in motive.

The person intent on warding off misfortune or eager for wealth seeks the auspicious. What has this behavior of the disappointed to do with the Protector of the world, who has no wishes?

Possessing nothing and the source of all wealth, lord of the world and denizen of the abode of the dead, dreadful in form he's called “Gentle” Śiva. No one knows the Bearer of the Pināka bow as he truly is.

Gleaming with ornaments or wrapped in snakes, draped in elephant hide or wearing silks, with either a skull or the crest of the Moon, the body of Śiva, whose form is the universe, is not to be defined.

¹⁰²⁵ SMITH 2005: 193–197 – Smith reads *vikīrṇa-keś^āsthi-pareta-bhūmiṣu* instead of *vikīrṇa-keśāsu pa-reta-bhūmiṣu* in the fourth *pāda* of the third verse, and translates it as follows: “...in burning grounds littered with hair and bones of the dead.”

¹⁰²⁶ *Kumārasaṃbhava* 5.74–80.

It's certainly true that by touching his body the powdered ash from funeral pyres becomes sanctifying, for when it falls in his performance of the expressive movements of his dance the gods in heaven anoint their crowns with it.

He's no money, he rides on a bull, but bull-like Indra, whose mount is the rutting elephant of the east, dismounts before him and reddens his toes with the pollen from the coral tree flowers blooming on his crown.

Though you wished to find fault, depraved as you are, one thing you said about the Lord was well said. He whom they honor as cause of Self-born Brahmā, how can his origin be determined?¹⁰²⁷

The passage, actually, summarises the two above discussed characteristics of the deity. There are only some virtuous chosen few who know something about the real greatness of the deity, though he is present everywhere. To depict Śiva's transcendence, Kālidāsa uses paradoxical statements just as in the case of Viṣṇu. He also contrasts Śiva's greatness with Brahmā's and Indra's and shows that Śiva is superior to both of them. However, it is a remarkable omission that Śiva is not compared here to Viṣṇu. Instead, Kālidāsa keeps to an archaic triad, in which Indra appears in Viṣṇu's future place.

Concerning the ashes and the cremation ground, the great poet only says that Śiva's greatness is able to purify even impure things. It is definitely not the answer that would be expected from a Śaiva theologian. Kālidāsa's image of Śiva, in this way, silhouettes a person who is rather a member of the Śaiva lay community supporting several ascetic schools. There were only a few ascetics who followed the strict lifestyle ordered by the *Ātimārga sūtras*, which implies a similar structure of the community as that of the Buddhists and the Jains.¹⁰²⁸

After the enquiry into the social judgement of contemporary Śaivism as well as Kālidāsa's personal piety, what is left is to investigate Śiva's presence in the Himālaya. In this context both his universality and his mystery are present.

The first verse of the *Kumārasambhava* alludes immediately to the heavenly character of the place:

*asty uttarasyāṃ diśi devat^ātmā Himālayo nāma nag^ādhirājah|
pūrv^āparau vārinidhī vigāhya sthitah prthivyā iva māna-daṇḍah||*¹⁰²⁹

There is in the north the king of mountains, divine in nature, Himālaya by name, the abode of snow. Reaching down to both the eastern and the western oceans, he stands like a rod to measure the Earth.¹⁰³⁰

¹⁰²⁷ SMITH 2005: 199–203.

¹⁰²⁸ BISSCHOP 2010b: 485–486.

¹⁰²⁹ *Kumārasambhava* 1.1.

¹⁰³⁰ SMITH 2005: 25.

The word *devat[^]ātmā* is used to distinguish the Himālaya. In connection with this expression most of the commentators remarked that it referred to the sentient character of the mountain.¹⁰³¹ Mallinātha and Nārāyaṇa, moreover, emphasised that this divine nature qualified the Himālaya for the deeds detailed in the epic.¹⁰³²

Since the word *devat[^]ātmā* occurs in the very first verse of the poem, it does not seem vain to investigate its role in the context of the epic structure as well. Among the commentators, it was Nārāyaṇa, who attributed a secondary function to this compound. Actually, he read Kālidāsa's work under the influence of later poetical works such as Daṇḍin's, which prescribed that the *sargabandhas* had to start with an opening blessing (*namas-kriyā*).¹⁰³³ This claim is obviously fulfilled in the case of the *Raghuvamśa*;¹⁰³⁴ however, it at first sight seems to be lacking in the *Kumārasambhava*.

To repair this apparent lacuna, Nārāyaṇa proposed that the Himālaya's possessing divine nature called the *iṣṭa-devatā* (chosen god), who is Śiva here, to mind, and thus it functioned as an auspicious invocation as well.¹⁰³⁵ The king of the mountains is, in this way, not only Śiva's home, but its essence (*ātman*) is also identical with the deity himself.

The fact that the first verse ascribes cosmological importance to the Himālaya, apparently emphasises further its central even more godlike role in the cosmos. It is the measuring rod of the Earth, which plunges into both the Eastern and the Western ocean. Incidentally, the *daṇḍa* is sometimes mentioned among Śiva's attributes,¹⁰³⁶ while the meaning of the word originally might have had a phallic sense,¹⁰³⁷ which can lead us even closer to the great deity.

However, Śiva's immanence and mystery never become completely revealed here. Thus, there remain only some features of the mountain, from which his presence can be inferred. The most striking one is evidently that the whole landscape is inhabited by many mythological and celestial beings such as *apsarases*,¹⁰³⁸ *siddhas*,¹⁰³⁹ as well as *kinmnaras*,¹⁰⁴⁰ and therefore, it actually looks like a heavenly place.

Besides, as we have seen earlier, Kālidāsa tends to use paradoxical statements to express transcendence. This is also true in the case of the Himālaya. On the one hand it

¹⁰³¹ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad KS 1.1.♦; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad KS 1.1.♦.

¹⁰³² MALLINĀTHA comm. ad KS 1.1.♦; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad KS 1.1.♦.

¹⁰³³ *Kāvyaḍarśa* 1.14.♦.

¹⁰³⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 1.1. (See p. 156.).

¹⁰³⁵ NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad KS 1.1.♦.

¹⁰³⁶ *Mahābhārata* 13.15.11.b, 14.8.24.a.

¹⁰³⁷ *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* 11.5.1.1. p. 889. – In connection with the expression *vaitasena daṇḍena* occurring here, Śāyaṇa suggested to understand it as male member (ŚĀYAṆA comm. ad ŚB 11.5.1.1. p. 2575.♦).

¹⁰³⁸ *Kumārasambhava* 1.4.a, 1.7.c.

¹⁰³⁹ *Kumārasambhava* 1.5.d.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Kumārasambhava* 1.8.c, 1.11.d, 1.14.b.

is, just like the Ocean, described as the source of uncountable treasures; on the other hand, the eternal frost makes it outwardly terrible. Kālidāsa, nevertheless, adds that this single blemish among the many good qualities does not ruin its fame.¹⁰⁴¹

Another slight allusion to Śiva can be the colours of the mountain. Here, I refer to Ayal Amer's research, who recently pointed out how the recurrent interrelation of the red and the white colours¹⁰⁴² shapes the Himālayan landscape. Actually, he interpreted the several manifestations of redness as hints at the later stages of the story.¹⁰⁴³ Without rejecting his view, my supposition is that the two colours can make one think of Śiva's presence, since they are also his characteristics. The matted hair of the great deity is reddish-brown (*babhru*), while his body is usually smeared by whitish ashes.¹⁰⁴⁴

The Mountain king

Concerning the opening verses of the *Kumārasambhava*, one thing seems certain: it differs much from the form of the *sargabandhas* established by the *alaṅkārikas*. Among them, Daṇḍin, for whom Kālidāsa's poems might have served as model, claimed that such a work needed to start with an invocation (*namas-kriyā*) or a statement of the topic (*vastu-nirdeśa*).¹⁰⁴⁵ At first sight, however, neither of them can be found here.

This omission, moreover, caused a headache for those mediaeval scholars who wrote their commentaries under the influence of the later works on poetics. I have already delineated above Nārāyaṇa's standpoint that the whole first verse could be understood as an invocation of the chosen deity (*iṣṭa-devatā*). In addition, he remarked that the initial *asti*, being an auspicious word that refers to the Supreme Being, was alone able to fulfil this need.¹⁰⁴⁶

On the other hand, regarding the claim of the *vastu-nirdeśa*, Nārāyaṇa, together with his predecessor Aruṇagirīnātha, maintained that it could be fulfilled by the introduction of the characters. Because they found introductory verses describing the hero as well as the anti-hero, they supposed that Kālidāsa's poem exemplified a third possibility in which the *vastu-nirdeśa* happened through the introduction of a supporting character.¹⁰⁴⁷

However, if we disregarded the prescription of the traditional works on poetics, which were written evidently later than Kālidāsa lived, we would encounter the so-

¹⁰⁴¹ *Kumārasambhava* 1.3. (See p. 165.).

¹⁰⁴² *Kumārasambhava* 1.4, 1.6, 1.7. (See p. 167–168).

¹⁰⁴³ AMER 2013: 13–14.

¹⁰⁴⁴ MANI 1984: 725, 728.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Kāvyaadarśa* 1.14. (See p. 303. App. n. 1033.).

¹⁰⁴⁶ NĀRĀYAṆA comm ad *KS* 1.1.● – Incidentally, this way of interpretation was shared by Mallinātha as well in connection with the very first verse of the *Kirātārjunīya* where the word *śrī* occurs in the same position. (MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Kir* 1.1.●).

¹⁰⁴⁷ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *KS* 1.1.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *KS* 1.1.●.

called *est locus* formula here, which is typical in Greek and Latin literature,¹⁰⁴⁸ but is quite unusual in India. According to this poetic method, the poet presents the setting of the plot before the appearance of the characters, and thus makes the depicted landscape look like a theatrical stage.¹⁰⁴⁹ As for the *Kumārasambhava*, the Himālaya is, in fact, the scene of the poem, however, this role remains secondary here, because the verses are organised to personify the place rather than to transform it into a theatrical stage.

Amer, therefore, suggested that a gradual descent characterises the introduction of the Himālaya. First, it appears as a cosmic entity, then its natural traits are revealed, from which the figure of the anthropomorphic mountain king is finally constructed.¹⁰⁵⁰

David Smith, on the other hand, regarded the opening description ultimately neutral concerning the narrative. In his distinct view, the attributes of the place correspond to the several phases and aspects of poetry. Thus, he proposed that the introduction actually summed up Kālidāsa's thoughts about poetry.¹⁰⁵¹

After all, while not rejecting these possible ways of interpretation, I would call attention to the allegory of the emperor embedded in the landscape, which was earlier revealed in the case of the ocean as well. Concerning Kālidāsa's whole Himālaya account, my very first impression is that it is, in fact, a royal eulogy (*praśasti*) composed to announce the greatness of the Himālaya. For this, not only the many attributes of the kings connected to the mountain, but the sequence of the relative pronouns shaping the structure of the description is equally responsible.

Furthermore, the form of *praśasti*, possibly, provides another alternative for the explanation of the initial *asti*. There are many examples for *praśastis* beginning with the word of salutation, *svasti* (hail!).¹⁰⁵² To find a connection between the two words, a speculative etymology (*niruktī*) can provide a link. According to it, the word *svasti* could easily be understood as a *su-asti* compound which implies that Kālidāsa's initial *asti*, perhaps, is his intentional choice to make the description resembling the *praśasti* form.

After the beginning verse, Kālidāsa, evoking some passages of the *Harivaṃśa*,¹⁰⁵³ enlightens the mythological background of the kingship of the Himālaya:

yaṃ sarva-śailāḥ parikalpya vatsaṃ Merau sthite dogdhari doha-dakṣe|
*bhāsvanti ratnāni mah^auśadhiś ca Pṛth^ûpadiṣṭāṃ duduhur dharitrīm||*¹⁰⁵⁴

¹⁰⁴⁸ HINDS 2006: 126.

¹⁰⁴⁹ HINDS 2006: 138.

¹⁰⁵⁰ AMER 2013: 5–6.

¹⁰⁵¹ SMITH 1992: 52.

¹⁰⁵² *CII Vol. 3*. No. 22. p. 102, No. 23. p. 107, No. 24. p. 111, No. 26. p. 118, No. 27. p. 122, No. 28. p. 126, No. 29. p. 130, No. 31. p. 136, No. 38. p. 165, No. 39. p. 173, No. 40. p. 193, No. 41. p. 197, No. 46. p. 215, No. 55. p. 236, No. 60. p. 256.

¹⁰⁵³ *Harivaṃśa* 6.35–36•.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Kumārasambhava* 1.2.

When Pṛthu told the Earth to become a cow and Meru, skilled in milking, became the milker, it was Himālaya the gods chose to be the calf to make the Earth's udders flow, and they milked from her shining jewels for him and great medicinal herbs.¹⁰⁵⁵

In ancient times, the Earth as a cow was milked by the mountains headed by Meru, and yielded gems and herbs to the Himālaya imagined as their calf. But, being a calf is not, in any case, a royal quality.

According to the *Harivaṃśa*,¹⁰⁵⁶ however, not only the mountains but all the other beings also appointed a “calf” from among them before the milking. Because the Himālaya imagined as a calf is usually regarded as the king of the mountains, I would focus here on the other groups of the milkers as well as their calves.¹⁰⁵⁷

The Milking of the Earth		
Milkers		Calf
Community	Leader	
people	Pṛthu	Svāyaṃbhuva Manu
ṛṣis	Br̥haspati	Moon (Soma)
devas	Savitṛ	Indra
pitṛs	Antaka/Kāla	Vaivasvata Yama
nāgas	Airāvata Dhṛtarāṣṭra	Takṣaka
asuras	Dvimūrdhan	Virocana
yakṣas	om.	Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera)
piśācas, rākṣasas	Rajatanābha	Sumālin
gandharvas, apsarasas	om.	Citraratha
mountains	Meru	Himālaya
plants, trees	Sāla	Plakṣa

¹⁰⁵⁵ SMITH 2005: 25.

¹⁰⁵⁶ On the report of the *Harivaṃśa*, the very first king, Pṛthu attacked the Earth to get supplies for the people. The terrified Earth, therefore, transformed into a cow and started to flee. However, the king finally caught up and ordered her to milk for all the creatures. In this way, the Earth imagined as a cow was milked earlier by Pṛthu than the other groups of the beings. (*Harivaṃśa* 5.40.–6.39).

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Harivaṃśa* 6.14–37.

Apparently, the milking of the Earth imagined as a cow is about the establishment of the new world order. Because most of those represented here as calves are the typical leaders of the different groups, their calf status seems to be here a hint at their future kingship. On the other hand, the corresponding heads of the milkers mostly are mystic and exalted figures, and thus they rather seem as cosmic counterparts or forefathers of the different kings. In this way, Kālidāsa's verse not only emphasises the royal status of the Himālaya, but it also illuminates its ancientness.

The following verse is dedicated to frost, the most characteristic physical feature of the mountain:

*an-anta-ratna-prabhavasya yasya <Himālayasya> himaṃ na saubhāgya-vilopi jātam|
eko hi doṣo guṇa-saṃnipāte nimaṃjat'īndroḥ kīraṇeṣu iv'āṅkaḥ||*¹⁰⁵⁸

He is the source of endless precious stones, and the snow has never become a hindrance to his well-endowed beauty, for one fault in a surplus of merits is lost from view, like the Moon's spot amid its moonbeams.¹⁰⁵⁹

Since the frost is usually unfavourable, it is represented as the only flaw of the place, which is, nevertheless, merged into the many good things. The place is, therefore, compared to the Moon, the dark spots of which, in Vallabhadeva's interpretation, similarly disappear among its rays.¹⁰⁶⁰

The other classical commentators, however, refused Vallabhadeva's standpoint, since they found it problematic that the elements of the supposed simile did not correspond to each other, because the inauspicious feature of the Moon was darkness, while it was coldness in the case of the Himālaya.¹⁰⁶¹ Therefore, the Southern commentators understood the verse as an *arthāntaranyāsa*¹⁰⁶² which, according to the Keralans, was supplemented by an example (*dṛṣṭānta*) about the Moon.¹⁰⁶³

After the three introductory verses, which describe the mountain as a whole unit, the poetic perspective changes slightly and details of the landscape come to light. My impression is that Kālidāsa arranged the following lines in accordance with a deliberate structure. All of the subsequent verses refer to the Himālaya by the relative pronoun, which occurs in various cases. At first glance, the variety of the grammatical cases

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Kumārasambhava* 1.3.

¹⁰⁵⁹ SMITH 2005: 25.

¹⁰⁶⁰ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *KS* 1.3.●.

¹⁰⁶¹ AMER 2013: 10.

¹⁰⁶² MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *KS* 1.3.●.

¹⁰⁶³ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *KS* 1.3.● – Nārāyaṇa went a bit further and he spoke about the combination of the *arthāntaranyāsa* and the *dṛṣṭānta* which he called *vikasvara*. (NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *KS* 1.3.●).

simply serves to break the monotony, however, if we give it a deeper thought, something systematic seems to take shape.

Kumārasaṃbhava 1.4–15		
Occurrence	Pronoun	
	Form	Sense
4.a	<i>yah</i>	<i>Nominative</i>
5.d	yasya	Genitive
6.a	yasmin	Locative
7.a	yatra	Locative
8.a	<i>yah</i>	<i>Nominative</i>
9.c	yatra	Locative
10.c	yatra	Locative
11.b	yatra	Locative
12.a	<i>yah</i>	<i>Nominative</i>
13.c	yasya	Genitive
14.a	yatra	Locative
15.c	yad-	Genitive

In this way, the three nominative occurrences of the pronoun shape the structure of the description. They are not only in the same case, but all of them are found in the first *pāda* in contrast to the remaining ones, the occurrences of which seem random. Actually, these nominative pronouns are the most straightforward allusions to the Himālaya, which are ordinarily supplemented by three additional verses. Thus, the three quartets probably illuminate three aspects of the mountain king.

Apart from the structure, Kālidāsa's characteristic moving viewpoint is also not to be glossed over when dealing with the description of the Himālaya. Although there is no flying object here to provide a frame for the changes between the long shot and the close-up, the characteristic vertical motion is not missing.

Kālidāsa starts to describe the Himālaya from above. There are four verses dedicated to depicting the snowy peaks. They are fundamentally characterised by the white colour, which is able to represent fame (*yaśas*), the most essential theme of all the *praśastis*.

We should bear Amer's important observation in mind that the white colour is supplemented by red.¹⁰⁶⁴ Now, the minerals (*dhātu*) appearing in the subsequent verse make the landscape red, which looks, therefore, as if twilight has arrived. It, moreover, confuses the *apsarases*, who start to put on their ornaments:

yaś <Himālayaḥ> c'āpsaro-vibhrama-maṇḍanānām saṃpādayitrīm śikharair bibharti|
*balāhaka-ccheda-vibhakta-rāgām a-kāla-saṃdhyām iva dhātumattām||*¹⁰⁶⁵

And the red mineral ore he bears on his peaks, reflected red in wisps of clouds, looks like twilight and confuses the heavenly nymphs, making them put on their ornaments at the wrong time.¹⁰⁶⁶

Aside from the *apsarases*, the *siddhas* also visit the peaks of the Himālaya. Actually, they sojourn in the lower regions, however, they move up when the rain comes. Thus, the snowy peaks, in fact, seem to be sunny places, where the soaked *siddhas* can warm up:

ā-mekhalam saṃcaratām ghanānām chāyām adhaḥ sānu-gatām niṣevya|
*udvejitā vṛṣṭibhir āśrayante śṛṅgāṇi <Himālayasya> yasy'ātapavanti siddhāḥ||*¹⁰⁶⁷

On his foothills the *siddhas*, perfected beings, enjoy the shade from the clouds moving around his waist; and when disturbed by showers, they go up to his sunny peaks above.¹⁰⁶⁸

The presence of celestial beings around the peaks, on the other hand, demonstrates that the upper regions of the Himālaya are in close connection with the heavenly spheres.

After that, the *Kirātas* appear, for whom the pearls of the elephant skulls show the way where the lions went, since their bloody steps are washed away by the snow:

padam tuṣāra-sruti-dhauta-raktam yasminn <Himālaye> a-drṣṭv'āpi hata-dvipānām|
*vidanti mārgaṃ nakha-randhra-muktair muktā-phalaiḥ kesariṇām kirātāḥ||*¹⁰⁶⁹

¹⁰⁶⁴ AMER 2013: 13–14.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Kumārasambhava* 1.4.

¹⁰⁶⁶ SMITH 2005: 27.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Kumārasambhava* 1.5.

¹⁰⁶⁸ SMITH 2005: 27.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Kumārasambhava* 1.6.

Though they don't see the bloody footprints washed away by Himālaya's melting snow, mountain tribesmen track lions that have killed elephants by the elephants' pearls dropped from between the lions' claws.¹⁰⁷⁰

As we have seen earlier, the lions conventionally inhabit the upper places,¹⁰⁷¹ which is affirmed here further, since their footprints disappear in the snow of the upper regions. This at once indicates the presence of elephants in the lower valleys, where the native Kirātas observe the lions' attacks on them. In this way, the verse already serves as a transition between the snowy peaks and the foothills.

Perhaps, the arrangement of the image thus evokes Śiva's figure again. His chest is usually covered by panther skin,¹⁰⁷² to which the mountain lions can correspond. Although they are still alive, their fate is foreshadowed by the arrival of the hunting Kirātas, who, in Vallabhadeva's opinion, desire their skin,¹⁰⁷³ while the carcasses of the elephants can represent Śiva's elephant skin blanket.¹⁰⁷⁴

The occurrence of the elephants, on the other hand, introduces the last verse of the first quartet. The love letters of the *apsarases* (*vidyādhara-sundarī*) written on birch bark with reddish paint of the *dhātus* are compared to elephant skins. In this way, love and passion enter the image, which at once becomes the central topic of the second quartet:

*nyast^ākṣarā dhātu-rasena yatra <Himālaye> bhūrja-tvacāḥ kuñjara-bindu-śoṇāḥ|
vrajanti vidyādhara-sundarīṇām anaṅga-lekha-kriyay'ōpayogam||*¹⁰⁷⁵

On Himālaya the birch bark serves for the love letters of *vidyādhara* beauties, words written with liquid ore, red like spots on an old elephant's hide.¹⁰⁷⁶

Here, we finally say goodbye to the snowy peaks and arrive at the foothills of the Himālaya. In the verses of the lower region, the mountain king takes a back seat and carries on being home of various creatures. Thus, it is their vivid, colourful world, which serves as a topic in the following lines. The plants of the mountain appearing as diverse amorous equipment take over the place of the snow and the gems highlighting the fame of the Himālaya.

In this way, just after the previous birches, the amorous music of the reeds (*kīcaka*) occupies the place:

¹⁰⁷⁰ SMITH 2005: 27.

¹⁰⁷¹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.74–75 (See p. 106–107).

¹⁰⁷² MANI 1984: 725.

¹⁰⁷³ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *KS* 1.6.●.

¹⁰⁷⁴ MANI 1984: 725.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Kumārasambhava* 1.7.

¹⁰⁷⁶ SMITH 2005: 27.

*yaḥ <Himālayaḥ> pūrayan kīcaka-randhra-bhāgān darī-mukh[^]ōtthēna samīraṇēna|
udgāsyatām icchati kiṁnarāṇām sthāna-pradāyitvam iv'ōpagantum||*¹⁰⁷⁷

He fills the hollow bamboos with the breath that comes from the mouths of his caves, as if to give the key for *kiṁnaras* beginning their song.¹⁰⁷⁸

The mountain king transforms into a flute-player now, who blows the hollow reeds through his cave-mouths to conduct the choir of the *kiṁnarīs*. His slightly unusual behaviour seems, nevertheless, fit for his royal rank. The emperor, in accordance with Gupta ideology, is not only a powerful conqueror, but he is also skilled in the arts, especially in music and poetry which, incidentally, may have been inseparable in Indian culture.¹⁰⁷⁹ Among others, Samudra Gupta is praised as a poet king,¹⁰⁸⁰ while the image of the emperor playing the *vīṇā* is often represented on Gupta coins.¹⁰⁸¹

The heavenly sound is followed by a pleasant scent, which comes from the pine trees (*sarala*). More accurately, the elephants cut open the bark of the pines, from which fragrant sap flows out and its scent is spread by the wind:

*kapola-kaṇḍūḥ karibhir vinetum vighaṭṭitānām sarala-drumāṇām|
yatra <Himālaye> sruta-kṣīratayā samīraḥ sānūni gandhaiḥ surabhī-karoti||*¹⁰⁸²

There the elephants ease their itching cheeks by rubbing against the Deodar pines, and thanks to the milky sap they make flow the wind perfumes the peaks with the fragrance of the trees.¹⁰⁸³

Finally, the famous luminous herbs complete the set before the lovemaking. In the caves of the mountain tribes, they serve as lamps during sexual intercourse:

*vanecarāṇām vanitā-sakhānām darī-grh[^]ōtsaṅga-nīṣakta-bhāsaḥ|
bhavanti <Himālaye> yatr'auśadhayo rajanyām a-taila-pūrāḥ surata-pradīpāḥ||*¹⁰⁸⁴

For their lovemaking there the forest-dwellers with their women have at night luminescent herbs as lamps that don't need filling with oil, glowing on the walls of their cave-homes.¹⁰⁸⁵

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Kumārasambhava* 1.8.

¹⁰⁷⁸ SMITH 2005: 27.

¹⁰⁷⁹ SMITH 1992: 52.

¹⁰⁸⁰ *CII Vol. 3*, No. 1, p. 8, l. 27.

¹⁰⁸¹ MOOKERJI 1947: 35–36.

¹⁰⁸² *Kumārasambhava* 1.9.

¹⁰⁸³ SMITH 2005: 29.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *Kumārasambhava* 1.10.

¹⁰⁸⁵ SMITH 2005: 29.

Thus, we enter into the caves, which are the obligatory components of all mountains. They often function as gateways to the netherworld or as places of initiatory rites.¹⁰⁸⁶ Although their connection to the transcendent is not as characteristic in this verse, they are, nevertheless, idyllic places, where the lovemaking of the locals can happen.

Together with the caves, the nights and the darkness come into sight, which indicate the third, the dark colour of the landscape. As we have seen above, the image starts with the white peaks, which is gradually reddened up to the foothills, where the blackness of the caves arises. These three colours, by nature, call the three *guṇas* of the Sāṅkhya to mind. In this way, the whole mountain balancing the three *guṇas* looks like a model, a real *māna-daṇḍa* of the world. The three spheres of the mountain, moreover, map the three worlds of the Indian cosmology, namely Heaven, Earth and the Underworld. This idea is, incidentally, found in the *Kirātārjunīya* as well, where Bhāravi praises the Himālaya straightforwardly as the image of the worlds.¹⁰⁸⁷

As soon as the night falls, horse-headed (probably *kiṃnara*) women appear on the mountain road:

udvejaty aṅguli-pārṣṇi-bhāgān mārge śilī-bhūta-hime 'pi yatra <Himālaye>|
*na dur-vaha-śroṇi-payodharārtā bhindanti mandām gatim aśva-mukhyah||*¹⁰⁸⁸

Though the path of frozen snow here pains their toes and heels, the horse-faced *kiṃnara* women, weighted down by their heavy hips and breasts do not break their slow pace.¹⁰⁸⁹

Although the frost of the path hurts their toes and heels, the *kiṃnarīs* are not able to hurry because of the huge weight of their hips and breasts. The Himālaya, in this way, looks like a vivid metropolis, where the maidens go to meet in secret with their lovers.

After the amorous verses, it is the darkness which leads to the last quartet. Actually, the royal attributes return here, which are organised to represent the Himālaya as the ideal of the earthly king:

divākarād rakṣati yo <Himālayah> guhāsu līnaṃ divā-bhītam iv'āndhakāram|
kṣudre 'pi nūnaṃ śaraṇaṃ prapanne matvam uccaiḥ-śirasāṃ sat'iva||
lāṅgūla-vikṣepa-visarpi-śobhair itas-tataś candra-marīci-śubhraiḥ|
*<Himālayasya> yasy'ārtha-yuktaṃ giri-rāja-śabdaṃ kurvanti vāla-vyajanaś camaryah||*¹⁰⁹⁰

¹⁰⁸⁶ GRABOWSKA 2005: 12.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Kirātārjunīya* 5.3.●.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Kumārasambhava* 1.11.

¹⁰⁸⁹ SMITH 2005: 29.

¹⁰⁹⁰ *Kumārasambhava* 1.12–13.

He protects from the Sun the darkness that hides by day, seemingly afraid, in his caves. Those who carry their heads high treat as their own even a low person who takes refuge with them, as though he were an excellent man.

With the fly-whisks that are their tails waving to and fro, spreading their luster white as moonbeams, the female yaks prove good his title to be king of mountains.¹⁰⁹¹

The mountain appears as a virtuous ruler, who protects even the vile (*kṣudraka*) darkness from the coming Sun, just as a noble person would. Apparently, the Himālaya fulfils his *dharmic* duty, since the *Manusmṛti* emphasises that the shielding of helpless members of society results in the growth of royal power and guarantees prosperity in the afterlife.¹⁰⁹²

The presence of yaks serves as another evidence for the kingship of the Himālaya in the following verse. These animals fan the mountain king with their tails, and thus they give real meaning to his title “*rājan*”. Since yak-tail fans are a common symbol of Indian kings, they obviously demonstrate the leadership of the Himālaya among the mountains. This interpretation was preferred by the classical scholars.¹⁰⁹³ Among them, Vallabhadeva, moreover, added that in spite of the external motionlessness of the Himālaya, he is alive.¹⁰⁹⁴

On the other hand, I suppose that there is an additional, less explicit connection between the fans and the king. According to an epic folk etymology, the word *rājan* derives from the root √*rāj* “shine”, which, in this way, refers to one in whom the *dharma* shines.¹⁰⁹⁵ Thus, it is this brightness that is the essence of the word *rājan*, which the moonbeam-like yak-tails put on display. Furthermore, the fact, that the yak-tails bear a resemblance to the moonbeams, hints at Śiva, since he is in the same way surrounded by the moonlight.

It is not only the Himālaya that gives up its former, joyful activity, but the components of the landscape also conform to his behaviour. In this way, the previously lustful *kiṃnarīs* become shy when they strip their clothes. However, the clouds know their duty even in this case, and they serve as curtains for the caves to cover the frightened women:

¹⁰⁹¹ SMITH 2005: 29–31.

¹⁰⁹² *Manusmṛti* 8.172.●.

¹⁰⁹³ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *KS* 1.13.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *KS* 1.13.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *KS* 1.13.●.

¹⁰⁹⁴ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *KS* 1.13.●.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Mahābhārata* 12.91.12.ac● – Actually, it is not the most typical interpretation of the word. Instead of it the *Mahābhārata* regards the word as a derivation from the root √*rañj* “make red, dye”. (HARA 1969: 494–499).

<Himālaye> yatr'āṁśuk^ākṣepa-vilajjitānām yad-rcchayā kiṁpuruṣ^āṅganānām|
darī-grha-dvāra-vilambi-bimbās tiras-karinyo jaladā bhavanti||¹⁰⁹⁶

Luckily for *kiṁpuruṣa* women embarrassed when stripped of their clothes, the clouds billowing over the entrances to their cave houses act as curtains.¹⁰⁹⁷

To conclude the quartet, finally, the wind comes back. Formerly, it worked on the amorous setting by bringing the *sarala* scent. This activity does not disappear here, and moreover, drops from the Ganges also blend into the wind. Nevertheless, instead of the loving couples, now, the hunting Kirātas enjoy it:

Bhāgīrathī-nirjhara-śīkarānām vodhā muhuḥ kampita-devadāruḥ|
yad-<Himālaya->vāyur anvīṣṭa-mṛgaiḥ kirātair āsevya bhinna-śikhāṇḍi-barhaḥ||¹⁰⁹⁸

The wind from Himālaya, carrying water drops from Gaṅgā's cascades and often stirring the deodar trees, is enjoyed by the mountain tribesmen hunting deer, ruffling the peacock feathers they wear.¹⁰⁹⁹

Concerning the three quartets, they describe the mountain king from three distinct standpoints. First, the fame and the richness embodied by many gems are in the centre, the place of which the lustful images of the second quartet take over. Finally, the Himālaya appears as a righteous king, who takes care of deprived subjects and gives pleasures to the dutiful ones. In this way, it is tempting to identify the quartets with the three goals of the human life, namely *artha*, *kāma* and *dharma*.

Finally, the closure of the description is quite similar to what we have in the case of the ocean. The realistic images disappear in a flash and the divine nature of the mountain surfaces again:

sapt^arṣi-hast^āvacit^āvaśeṣāṇy adho vivasvān parivartamānaḥ|
padmāni <Himālayasya> yasy'āgra-saroruhāṇi prabodhayaty ūrdhva-mukhair mayūkhaiḥ||
yajñ^āṅga-yonitvam aveksya yasya <Himālayasya> sāraṁ dharitrī-dharaṇa-kṣamaṁ ca|
prajāpatīḥ kalpita-yajña-bhāgaṁ śail^ādhipatyam svayam anvatīṣṭhat||¹¹⁰⁰

The Seven Sages pick lotuses that grow in the pools on his peaks; the Sun orbiting below awakens those which remain with his upward-directed rays.

¹⁰⁹⁶ *Kumārasambhava* 1.14.

¹⁰⁹⁷ SMITH 2005: 31.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Kumārasambhava* 1.15.

¹⁰⁹⁹ SMITH 2005: 31.

¹¹⁰⁰ *Kumārasambhava* 1.16–17.

Seeing him as source of materials for the sacrifice and strong enough to support the sustaining Earth, the Creator himself invested him with lordship over mountains and a share in sacrifices.¹¹⁰¹

The Himālaya is exposed here as the place where the seven *ṛṣi*s pick lotuses, the remains of which the Sun awakens with its upward-turned rays.

Kālidāsa specifies the lakes where the heavenly lotuses grow with the word *agra*. According to Vallabhadeva, it means that these lakes were found at an extreme height, which the Sun was able to reach only with its upward-directed rays.¹¹⁰² Agreeing with his interpretation, Mallinātha made the location of the lakes more accurate. He, in this way, identified the seven *ṛṣi*s with the seven stars of the Ursa Major, which were located above the Polar star (Dhruva) in accordance with some astronomical works. Therefore, in his opinion the lakes, just as the celestial bodies, are situated in the cosmic sphere.¹¹⁰³ In a similar way, the Keralans, quoting other authorities, placed the position of the lakes above the Moon and the Sun.¹¹⁰⁴

The return of the divine character, at once, commences to come to the conclusion of the description. In this way, Prajāpati appears in closing and donates either earthly kingship over mountains or divine status implied by his share in the sacrifices to the Himālaya. Thus, the dual nature incorporated in the landscape arises in the intention of the Creator.

BETWEEN TWO WORLDVIEWS

To sum up, Kālidāsa's two epics are established on two opposing world views. The *Raghuvamśa* serves the imperial propaganda, in consequence of which it is strongly influenced by Vaiṣṇavism. In this case, it is an obvious choice to use the ocean, Viṣṇu's resting place as the symbol of the emperor.

On the other hand, the *Kumārasaṃbhava* elaborates on a Śaiva legend. Thus, this epic appeals, first of all, to the Śiva-believers, to whom Kālidāsa probably belonged. This also indicates that the *Kumārasaṃbhava* provided an opportunity for the poet to confess his personal belief.

As we have seen above, in Kālidāsa's opinion, Śiva has an all-comprehending nature, which surpasses the partly immanent, emperor-like Viṣṇu of the *Raghuvamśa*. The comparison of the two deities would be, therefore, futile. However, the distinct

¹¹⁰¹ SMITH 2005: 31–33.

¹¹⁰² VALLABHADEVA comm. ad KS 1.16.●.

¹¹⁰³ MALLINĀTHA comm. ad KS 1.16.●.

¹¹⁰⁴ ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad KS 1.16.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad KS 1.16.●.

position that Viṣṇu occupies in the *Raghuvamśa*, is also required in the *Kumārasambhava*. Here, the Himālaya performs it, which change can cause a slight contradiction about the real identity of the cosmic Earth-bearer.

In connection with this, Kālidāsa reveals his judgement in the *Kumārasambhava*, in the sixth canto:

<Aṅgirā Himālayam uvāca>
 sthāne tvāṃ sthāvar[^]ātmānaṃ Viṣṇum āhus tathā hi te|
 car[^]ā-carāṇāṃ bhūtānāṃ kuksir ādhāratāṃ gataḥ||
 gām adhāsyat katham nāgo mṛṇāla-sadrśaiḥ phaṇaiḥ|
 ā-rasātala-mūlāt tvam avālabhisyathā na cet||
 a-cchinn[^]ā-mala-samtānāḥ samudr[^]ormy-a-nivāritāḥ|
 punanti lokam puṇyavāt kīrtayaḥ saritaś ca te||
 yath'aiva ślāghyate Gaṅgā pādēna paramēṣṭhinaḥ|
 prabhavēṇa dvitīyena tath'aiv'occhirasā tvayā||¹¹⁰⁵

Rightly do they call your immovable form Viṣṇu for your middle is the support for all beings, moving and unmoving.

How could Śeṣa the snake bear the Earth on his hoods resembling lotus stems, if you did not help from your base in the subterranean world?

In pure and unbroken streams unimpeded by the ocean's waves, your glory and your rivers by their sanctity purify the whole world.

Just as Gaṅgā is praised for her origin from Supreme Lord Viṣṇu's foot, so too for her second origin from your lofty summit.¹¹⁰⁶

As maintained by the classical interpreters,¹¹⁰⁷ the great poet refers to a *Bhagavadgītā* verse¹¹⁰⁸ when he announces that people rightly call the Himālaya Viṣṇu, because its cavity (*kuksī*), just as Viṣṇu's belly (*kuksī*), serves as support for the creatures. In this way, the following lines establish the proposed similarity between the mountain and the deity.

In this way, it is not only Viṣṇu who is surrounded by water, but the Himālaya too, since it is covered by many sacred streams, which are not impeded even by the ocean bed of the great deity. Furthermore, the Ganges is also in an equally close relationship with Viṣṇu's foot and the head of the Himālaya. According to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the

¹¹⁰⁵ *Kumārasambhava* 6.67–70.

¹¹⁰⁶ SMITH 2005: 233–235.

¹¹⁰⁷ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *KS* 6.67.♦; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *KS* 6.67.♦; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *KS* 6.67.♦; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *KS* 6.67.♦.

¹¹⁰⁸ *Mahābhārata* 6.32.25. = *Bhagavadgītā* 10.25.♦.

holy river flows from the foot of the great deity.¹¹⁰⁹ Although this reference is quite succinct, we know the whole story from the later *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.¹¹¹⁰ On its report, Viṣṇu's toe pierced the sky vault at his third step and thus let the Ganges into heaven. Concerning the Himālaya, we see the same role, since it is the passage for the river to descend to the Earth. Incidentally, some commentators regarded this role of the mountain as a slight allusion to Śiva's head, where the Ganges was kept back for a long time.¹¹¹¹

Beyond the enumeration of the similarities, the great poet also has the courage to make fun of Viṣṇu's snake: he expresses his doubt that Śeṣa alone would be able to bear the weight of the Earth unless the Himālaya supported it.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 2.2.32.♦.

¹¹¹⁰ *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* 5.17.1.♦.

¹¹¹¹ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *KS* 6.70.♦; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *KS* 6.70.♦.

CULTIVATED SPACE

In spite of the fact that Kālidāsa's animated landscapes of nature are usually organised to represent the cosmic duality serving as the basis of the Indian kingship, the real scene of his poems is still the cultivated space.

Actually, it is human presence which distinguishes this spatial unit from nature. However, because there is a wide scale of human settlements from hermitages to metropolises, cultivated space is quite varying, and therefore, we need a new guiding principle in its analysis. For this, I propose the stereotypic opposition between rural and urban life, of which a couple scholars have already given notice.

Jens-Uwe Hartmann, for example, put forward that it is this contrast which is, in fact, thematised by the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*. According to his reading, the figure of Duṣyanta represents the values of the urban life, while Śākuntalā serves as a symbol of the rural world.¹¹¹²

Ranajit Sarkar, on the other hand, called attention to a similar leading role of the rural-urban duality in the *Meghadūta*, and he put forward that the dynamism between the towns and the country expresses the mental state of the exiled *yakṣa*.¹¹¹³

Beside these approaches, it is also a general view that rural space has a kind of moral priority over the city. The *āśramas* serving as centres of the rural area are often imagined as Edenic places, where people find refuge from the profane ambience of the towns. Ingalls praises, therefore, the *āśramas* as an "antidote to the court",¹¹¹⁴ while Pontillo regards them as a manifestation of "an ideal of higher civilisation aiming at peaceful living together".¹¹¹⁵

These opinions may recognise correctly that the essence of *āśramas* is to provide an alternative for urban life. However, I do not think that it would indicate that they were the opposites of each other. Both the city and the *āśrama* seem to be good places, but each of them is good for different kinds of people. Thus, urban space is prescribed for those who are intent on achieving the first three of the *puruṣārthas*, namely *artha*, *dharma*, and *kāma*, while the *āśrama* is for those, who desire *mokṣa*. Furthermore, if someone did not find their own place in either of these places, it could lead to a tragic end, as it happened in Śambūka's and Śākuntalā's cases.

Concerning the latter example, when Duṣyanta first faced Śākuntalā's beauty, he expressed his doubt about her *brāhmaṇic* birth immediately:

¹¹¹² HARTMANN 2004: 117–118.

¹¹¹³ SARKAR 1979: 360.

¹¹¹⁴ INGALLS 1976: 22.

¹¹¹⁵ PONTILLO 2009: 52.

RĀJĀ:

*api nāma kula-pater <Kaṇvasya> iyaṃ <Śakuntalā> a-sa-varṇa-kṣetra-sambhavā syāt*¹¹¹⁶

KING:

Can it be that she is born in a caste different from the patriarch's?¹¹¹⁷

Somadeva Vasudeva understood these words as Duṣyanta's worry that Śakuntalā might be beyond his marital aspirations.¹¹¹⁸ Duṣyanta, nevertheless, finds Śakuntalā suitable for the marriage, because he listens to his heart, which he considers the right means of cognition (*pramāṇa*) in such cases:

<Duṣyanta uvāca>

*a-saṃśayaṃ kṣatra-parigraha-kṣamā yad āryaṃ asyām <Śakuntalāyām> abhilāṣi me manaḥ |
satām hi samdeha-padeṣu vastuṣu pramāṇam antaḥkaraṇa-pravṛttayaḥ*¹¹¹⁹

Doubtless she is fit to be wed by a warrior, since my heart desires her so. For the good, the inclinations of their inner faculties are authoritative in matters of doubt.¹¹²⁰

This very first recognition of Śakuntalā is quite meaningful, since each of the tragic events seem to be derived from the dissonance between Śakuntalā's origin and her life in the *āśrama*. At the outcome of the play, furthermore, this scene seems to be repeated,¹¹²¹ since it is again an *āśrama*, where Duṣyanta recognises his son, Bharata, whose playing with the lion cub does not suit the life of hermits:

<Duṣyanto Bharatam uvāca>

*evam āśrama-viruddha-vṛttinā saṃyamī kim iti janma-das tvayā |
sattva-saṃśraya-sukho 'pi dūṣyate kṛṣṇasarpa-śiśun'ēva candanaḥ*¹¹²²

Why are you thus dishonouring your self-possessed father – as a young cobra does a sandal-tree – with deeds out of keeping with a hermitage, even though it pleases him that beings take refuge in him?¹¹²³

¹¹¹⁶ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 1.97. p. 74.

¹¹¹⁷ VASUDEVA 2006: 75.

¹¹¹⁸ VASUDEVA 2006: 404.

¹¹¹⁹ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 1.98. p. 74.

¹¹²⁰ VASUDEVA 2006: 75.

¹¹²¹ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 7.64–127 p. 330–344.

¹¹²² *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 7.87. p. 336.

¹¹²³ VASUDEVA 2006: 337.

The *Raghuvamśa*, on the other hand, represents a more apparent conclusion of the dissonance between the birth and the set of circumstances. When Śambūka, in spite of being a *śūdra*, performed penance, it caused the death of a boy in Rāma's kingdom.¹¹²⁴

These characteristics, on the other hand, identify both the *āśrama* and the city as central locations, and moreover, cause them to form imaginary focal points on our imaginary map of cultivated space. This map consists of the rural and the urban area, which complement rather than oppose each other. So, it is true that some pieces of rural space, such as the forest and the village, are developed in a way which contributes to the interrelation of the city and the *āśrama*.

RURAL SPACE

Rural space forms a line between untouched nature and the vivid towns. On the one hand, it is such a human settlement, which exists in close symbiosis with urban life, since the prosperity of cities depends much on the craftsmen, peasants and *brāhmaṇas* of the villages.¹¹²⁵

However, this is not only an economic relationship, but it also influences the lives of individuals:

<Kaṇvaḥ Śakuntalām uvāca>

bhūtvā cirāya catur-anta-mahī-sa-patnī Duṣyantim a-pratirathaṃ tanayaṃ prasūya|
*tasmin niveśita-dhureṇa sah'aiva bhartrā śānte kariṣyasi padaṃ punar āśrame 'smin||*¹¹²⁶

When you have been the fellow wife of the Earth bounded by the cardinal points, when you have given birth to Duṣyanta's son, whom none can withstand in battle, when he has taken up the yoke, with your husband alone you shall set foot in this tranquil hermitage.¹¹²⁷

As Kaṇva's consoling words to Śakuntalā attest, many of those people who follow the rules of the four *āśramas* (stages of life) have to share their lives between the urban and the rural space. Although urban life was, generally, not recommended for *brāhmaṇas*,¹¹²⁸ in some cases it was, nevertheless, unavoidable, since quite a few of them had

¹¹²⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 15.42–53 – Actually, it is an adaptation of a *Rāmāyaṇa*-legend (7.64.2–67.5), which unlike Kālidāsa's version maintains that the assassination of Śambūka, finally, saved the life of the ill-fated boy.

¹¹²⁵ GHOSH 1973: 54–55.

¹¹²⁶ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 4.176. p. 212.

¹¹²⁷ VASUDEVA 2006: 213.

¹¹²⁸ GHOSH 1973: 53–54.

to serve the king as ministers, priests or teachers.¹¹²⁹ Perhaps this led to the city becoming rehabilitated as the scope of the first three *puruṣārthas*. In the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, Anasūyā's wondering words to Duṣyanta serve as a typical example for this, since she asks the king to explain what took such a refined (*su-kumāra*) gentleman to the forest of the ascetics:

<Anasūyā Duṣyantam uvāca>

*kiṇ-nimittam vā su-umāreṇa ayyeṇa tabo-vaṇ^āgamaṇa-parīsamassa attā patthi-kado*¹¹³⁰

And on what account has a refined lord given himself the toil of visiting a penance grove?¹¹³¹

This dichotomy is, moreover, enlarged by the *Raghuvamśa*, in which Kālidāsa juxtaposes the deeds of the governing Aja and the ascetic exercises of his retired father, Raghu.¹¹³² On the surface, their activities do not differ much from each other, because Raghu, in fact, continues those undertakings among the hermits, which he did previously on the throne, despite the fact that the scene has already altered around him. In this way, Raghu, the former world conqueror, declares war at this time on his *karmas*, in which yogis occur as his councillors. Thus, it is not his deeds, but the transmuted environment which makes the last period of Raghu's life auspicious:

a-jit^ādhigamāya mantribhir yuyuje nīti-viśāradair Ajah|
an-apāyi-pad^ōpalabdhaye Raghur āptaiḥ samiyāya yogibhiḥ||
anurañjayitum prajāḥ prabhur vyavahār^āsanam ādade navah|
aparah śuci-viṣṭar^āśrayaḥ paricetum yatate sma dhāraṇāḥ||
anayat prabhu-śakti-sampadā vaśam eko nṛpatīn an-antarān|
aparah prañidhāna-yogyayā marutaḥ pañca śarīra-gocarān||
naya-cakṣur Ajo didṛkṣayā para-randhrasya tatāna maṇḍale|
hṛdaye samaropayan manah paramam jyotir avekṣitum Raghuḥ||
akarod a-cir^eśvaraḥ kṣitau dviśad-ārambha-phalāni bhasmasāt|
*aparo dahane sva-karmaṇāṃ vavṛte jñāna-mayena vahninā*¹¹³³

Aja consulted with his ministers versed in politics to obtain those [countries] which remained (still) unconquered, while Raghu frequented yogis to reach salvation.

The new king occupied the judgement seat to gladden his subjects, while the former king, sitting on a sheaf of holy grass, made efforts to exercise concentration.

¹¹²⁹ GHOSH 1973: 54; KAUL 2010: 169–170.

¹¹³⁰ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 1.123. p. 80.

¹¹³¹ VASUDEVA 2006: 81.

¹¹³² *Raghuvamśa* 8.10–24.

¹¹³³ *Raghuvamśa* 8.17–21.

The one, being successful in royal skill, conquered the rival kings, while the other, practicing meditation, subdued the five winds of the body.

Because Aja intended to see the weak points of his enemies in his empire, he spread his good management as if it were his eye; while Raghu focused his mind on his heart to observe the highest light.

The new king reduced the results of the undertakings of his enemies into ashes on the Earth, while the other was intent on burning his own *karmas* with a [special] fire consisting of knowledge.

Although Kālidāsa acknowledges, in this way, the greater morality of rural life, it does not mean that he would prefer it. Quite the contrary, the countryside concerning its outward appearance seems, almost always, inferior to the urban centres. As Ranajit Sarkar pointed out, it is the towns that are really worth a visit in the *Meghadūta*, while the beauties of the countryside, though not denied, are degraded as obstacles to the mission.¹¹³⁴ Furthermore, those things which, nevertheless, come to be fascinating in the rural space, also imitate the scenes of urban life. In this way, though the wives of the naive villagers¹¹³⁵ are not able to compete with the wanton courtesans of Ujjayinī,¹¹³⁶ some rivers such as the Vetravati¹¹³⁷ and the Nirvindhya¹¹³⁸ still approach their beauty.¹¹³⁹

Apart from its connection to the city, the other main feature of rural space is its closeness to nature. Perhaps it is this characteristic which is responsible for the above-discussed moral priority of rural life. As we have seen, nature is sanctified in its untouched state and influenced deeply by the presence of the transcendent. The fact that the countryside is in more intensive relationship with it transforms the rural region into a special place where the human beings have greater chance to come into contact with the divine sphere.

To sum up, both nature and urban space affect the rural region; however, the measure of their influences is unequal. Some of them, such as the forest and the village, are in closer relationship with the cities, and thus they form a rather transitional space between the rural and the urban life. Others, like the *āśramas* and the pilgrimage sites, show more affinity with transcendent purposes. With regard to them, the *āśrama* provides an alternative to the urban lifestyle, and therefore it is constructed on the model of the

¹¹³⁴ SARKAR 1979: 355–356.

¹¹³⁵ *Meghadūta* 16. (See p. 185–186).

¹¹³⁶ *Meghadūta* 27. (See p. 219.).

¹¹³⁷ *Meghadūta* 24. (See p. 234–235).

¹¹³⁸ *Meghadūta* 28. (See p. 219–220).

¹¹³⁹ SARKAR 1979: 357–358.

towns. On the other hand, human presence is minimised in the case of the pilgrimage sites, for which closeness to the sacred becomes the main hallmark.

The Forest

The forest corresponds to the outermost region of both the city and the *āśrama*. In spite of our expectations, it is, in any case, not an untouched space, since it is ordinarily a scene of human activities. On the one hand, the king and his companions find pleasure in hunting here, which makes the place straightforwardly one of the spaces of the royal activities.¹¹⁴⁰ With regard to Kālidāsa's description about Daśaratha's hunting, it seems that the forest was often fashioned to serve safe hunting as much as possible:¹¹⁴¹

*śva-gaṇi-vāgurikaiḥ prathamāsthitaṁ vyapagatānala-dasyu viveśa sah <Daśarathaḥ>|
sthira-turaṅgama-bhūmi nīpānavan mṛga-vayo-gavayāpaciṭaṁ vanam||*¹¹⁴²

The king then entered a forest which was already occupied by persons who carried with them nets and packs of dogs, which was cleared of forest-conflagration and robbers, in which the ground was made solid for horses, which had many pools of water and which was full of antelopes, birds and the Gayals (or the yaks).¹¹⁴³

On the other hand, it is also the forest which supplies food for the gathering hermits. Therefore, the forest arises as a kind of venue where the urban and the rural lives can be confronted, and where the turning points of the plot often occur, like in the case of Daśaratha and Duṣyanta.

Besides, the forest seems to be a space of passage, the traversing of which precedes momentous deeds. It is usually imagined as a vivid and animated place, which gives assistance to the arriving heroes. It accommodates Daśaratha during his hunting, dresses up Śakuntalā, and amuses the child Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with the help of its winds, ponds, clouds and birds:

*sa <Daśarathaḥ> lalita-kusuma-pravāla-śayyāṁ jvalita-mahāauṣadhi-dīpikā-sa-nāthāṁ|
nara-patir ativāhayāṁ babhūva kva-cid a-sameta-paricchadas tri-yāmāṁ||*¹¹⁴⁴

¹¹⁴⁰ BASHAM 1959: 90; WOJTILLA 2009: 199.

¹¹⁴¹ RAJENDRAN 2006: 135.

¹¹⁴² *Raghuvamśa* 9.53.

¹¹⁴³ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 281.

¹¹⁴⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 9.70.

Somewhere, without any attendants, did that king pass away the night furnished with lights of luminous herbs of wonderful power, and with beddings of tender leaves and flowers.¹¹⁴⁵

kṣaumaṃ kena-cid indu-pāṇḍu taruṇā māṅgalyam āviṣ-kṛtam|
niṣṭhyūtaś caraṇ^ôpabhoga-su-labho lākṣā-rasaḥ kena-cit||
anyebhyo vana-devatā-kara-talair ā-parva-mūl^ôttḥitaiḥ|
*dattāny ābharanāni naḥ <Śakuntalā-sakhībhyah> kisalaya-chāyā-pratispadhibhiḥ||*¹¹⁴⁶

One tree produced an auspicious linen garment, pale like the Moon; one excluded red lac juice, ready to apply the feet; others offered us ornaments with the hands of forest deities stretching out as far as the wrists, rivalling the beauty of new shoots.¹¹⁴⁷

tau <Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau> sarāṃsi rasavadbhir ambubhiḥ kūjitaiḥ śruti-sukhaiḥ patatrīṇaḥ|
*vāyavaḥ surabhi-puṣpa-reṇubhiś chāyayā ca jaladāḥ siṣevire||*¹¹⁴⁸

The tanks served them with sweet water, the birds with their notes pleasing to the ear, the breeze with the pollen of sweet-scented flowers and clouds with shade.¹¹⁴⁹

Apart from these examples, it is, nevertheless, Dilīpa's journey to Vasiṣṭha's *āśrama*, which lays out the most extended representation of the forest in Kālidāsa's oeuvre. This description is constructed in the usual way and consists of snapshot-like images, where Dilīpa's moving chariot serves as the scenic standpoint.¹¹⁵⁰

During Dilīpa's travel, the forest transforms into a kind of reception area, where the king is greeted before his entry into the *āśrama*:

sevyamānau <Dilīpa-Sudakṣiṇau> sukha-sparśaiḥ sālā-niryāsa-gandhibhiḥ|
puṣpa-reṇ^ûtkirair vātair ādhūta-vana-rājibhiḥ||
pavanasy'ānukūlatvāt prārthanā-siddhi-śāmsinaḥ|
rajobhis turag^ôtkirṇair a-sprṣt^âlaka-veṣṭanau||
haiyaṅgavīnam ādāya ghoṣa-vṛddhān upāgatān|
nāmadheyāni prcchantau vanyānām mārga-śākhinām||
sarasīsv'aravindānām vīci-vikṣobha-śītalām|
āmodam upajighrantau sva-niḥśvās^ānukāriṇam||
manobhir āmāḥ ṣṇvantau ratha-nemi-svan^ôn mukhaiḥ|

¹¹⁴⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 289.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 4.82. p. 192.

¹¹⁴⁷ VASUDEVA 2006: 193.

¹¹⁴⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 11.11.

¹¹⁴⁹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 329.

¹¹⁵⁰ BONISOLI ALQUATI 2008: 24.

ṣadja-saṃvādinīḥ kekā dvidhā bhinnāḥ śikhaṇḍibhiḥ||
 paraspar^ākṣi-sādrśyam a-dūr^ōjjhita-vartmasu|
 mṛga-dvandveṣu paśyantau syandan^ābaddha-dr̥ṣṭiṣu||
 śreni-bandhād vitanvadbhir a-stambhām toraṇa-srajam|
 sārasaiḥ kala-nirhrāḍaiḥ kva-cid-unnamit^ānanau||¹¹⁵¹

(On their way) they were fanned (lit. served) by the breezes agreeable to the touch, fragrant with odorous exudation of *śāla* trees, wafting (or scattering) over the dust of the pollen of flowers, and by which the groves of forests were gently shaken.

On account of the favourable-blowing of the wind betokening the fulfilment of their wish, they (two) were untouched in the hair and the turban by the dust raised up by (the hoofs of) their horses.

They inquired about the names of wild trees (standing) on (both sides of) the road to the old cow-herds who had come to them with fresh ghee (lit. having taken with them the newly-made ghee).

They smelt the fragrance of the lotus-flowers in large lakes, cool by contact with ripples and imitating (i. e. resembling) their own breath.

They listen to the cries of (wild) peacocks having their heads up-lifted at the rattle of the car-wheels, which, being divided into two folds, were very charming to the mind and in conformity with the *ṣadja* air.

They beheld a (marked) similarity of each other's eyes in the pair of antelopes which had withdrawn to a little distance from the road and had fixed their gaze on the car.

In some place they were made to raise their heads (lit. faces) by the *sārasa* cranes cackling melodiously (but unintelligible), who, from their arranging themselves in rows, (appeared to have) stretched a front-door-garland unsupported by pillars.¹¹⁵²

First, the wind scented by *sāla*-sap comes to look after him and his wife, Sudakṣiṇā. It cares especially for their faces and keeps the dust churned up by the horses from smearing them.

In the following lines, the reception continues with the emergence of the herdsmen, who present fresh butter to the royal couple and inform them about the names of forest plants. After this formal greeting, the compassion of the forest is also revealed. The lotuses of the ponds imitate the sighs of the royal couple, with which the cry of the peacock mingles. Furthermore, the forest comes into contact not only with the ears, but also with the eyes, and thus, the arriving guests discover themselves in the gaze of

¹¹⁵¹ *Raghuvamśa* 1.38–44.

¹¹⁵² NANDARGIKAR 1971: 16–18.

the gazelles. Finally, cranes appear and take the shape of the arched gateways (*torana*), thus introducing the upcoming village scene.

Here, beyond the literary analysis, it is necessary to pay attention to the philological problems connecting to Dilipa's journey. Concerning the order of the verses, there is, in fact, such a great variety among the recensions,¹¹⁵³ that it makes all efforts to reconstruct a so-called Ur-text futile. Instead, our aim can only be to identify some remarkable tendencies determining the alterations in the testimony.

If we take a look at the southern versions of the text, a quite opposing sequence of the verses occurs. Touching on this problem, Anna Bonisoli Alquati proposed a remarkable theory, according to which it was a change in literary taste which may have resulted in the various readings of the description. In her opinion, the asymmetry and the variety of the verses characterising the later literary works, like the *Kirātārjunīya*, is perceivable in Mallinātha's version, but it is lacking in Vallabhadeva's. From this, she inferred that the realignment of the verses may have served the later literary taste.¹¹⁵⁴ Although this way of thinking could really explain the abundance of the different readings, I am quite uncertain about it, because, as far as I know, there is no authority which would prescribe asymmetry as a necessity. In this way, it does not seem too probable that the transmitters would have changed the text just for the sake of fashion.

Instead, the basis of the textual corruption might be related to the content. According to Aruṇagiriṇātha, each image of the description is associated with the equipment of the reception of the king, and thus, they together form one unit (*kulaka*).¹¹⁵⁵ As we have seen, this way of interpretation, in certain cases, undoubtedly makes sense; however, Aruṇagiriṇātha's explanation is sometimes quite far-fetched. Among others, he identified the wind with royal umbrellas and the lotus-ponds with cooling instruments. The fact that the Keralan scholar regarded the verses as describing one procession, neutralises the distinction between the forest and the village. Consequently, in Aruṇagiriṇātha's reading the whole account closes with the appearance of the herdsmen, whose present, butter, in view of its sacrificial employment, can serve as a straight link to the upcoming scene of the *āśrama*.

Concerning Aruṇagiriṇātha's well-built explanation, it seems that he recognised an organising principle, namely the theme of the royal reception, and analysed each verse in its light. This, however, brings up the possibility that they were, in fact, the transmitters, who re-arranged the order of the verses for the sake of such a recognised organising principle.

¹¹⁵³ GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: 276.

¹¹⁵⁴ BONISOLI ALQUATI 2009: 71.

¹¹⁵⁵ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 1.45.♦.

In any case, the example of Dilīpa's travel through the forest summarises Kālidāsa's attitude towards this place well. In his poetic world, the forest tends to favour those who approach it, and emerges as a welcoming host submitting himself wholly to the coming guests.

The Village

In Kālidāsa's works, the village is a quite underrepresented theme. As a matter of fact, there are only a few fragments, with the help of which the main features of this spatial unit can be somewhat reconstructed.

The village often appears as an inferior place in his similes underlining the prosperity of the cities. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, when Kauśikī the *parivrājikā* was appointed as an umpire in the rivalry between the two dance-masters, she became shy because more venerable royal personages were present there, and therefore, compared herself to a village in which a jewel is tested in spite of the fact that there are towns in the vicinity:

<parivrājikovāca>
pattane vidyamāne 'pi ratna-parikṣā¹¹⁵⁶

Would you have a jewel assayed in a village when a city is near?¹¹⁵⁷

The *Meghadūta*, on the other hand, points out this low regard for the village through the difference between country- and city women:

adreh śṛṅgaṃ harati pavanaḥ kiṃavid ity unmukhibhir
dṛṣṭ^ôtsāhaś cakita-cakitaṃ mugdha-siddh^ânḡanābhiḥ|
sthānād asmāt sa-rasa-niculād utpat^ôdaṇ-mukhaḥ khaṃ
diṇ-nāḡānāṃ pathi pariharaṇ sthūla-hast^āvalehān||¹¹⁵⁸

With your exertions wathed in fearful alarm by simple *siddha* ladies looking up and wondering whether the wind is carrying away the mountaintop, face north and rise up into the sky from this place and its succulent *nicula* canes, avoiding on your way the huge flickering trunks of the elephants of the quarters.¹¹⁵⁹

tvayy āyattaṃ kṛṣi-phalam iti bhrū-vilās-ân-abhijñaiḥ
prīti-sniḡdhair janapada-vadhū-locanaiḥ pīyamānaḥ|

¹¹⁵⁶ *Mālavikāgnimitra* 1.129. p. 34.

¹¹⁵⁷ BALOGH – SOMOGYI 2009: 35.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Meghadūta* 14.

¹¹⁵⁹ MALLINSON 2006: 31.

*sadyaḥ-sīr^ôtkṣaṇa-surabhi kṣetram āruhya mālām
kiṃ-cit paścād pravalaya gatim bhūya ev'ôttareṇa||*¹¹⁶⁰

The harvest depends upon you, so the eyes of the country women – brows wet with joy innocently flirting – will drink you in. As they do so, go a little to the west, over the plain of Māla, fragrant from its recent plowing, before turning once more to the north.¹¹⁶¹

*viśrāntaḥ san vraja vana-nadī-tīra-jātāni siñcann
udyānānām nava-jala-kaṇair yūthikā-jālakāni|
gaṇḍa-sved^āpanayana-rujā-klānta-karṇ^ôtpalānām
chāyā-dānāt kṣaṇa-paricitaḥ puspālāvi-mukhānām||*¹¹⁶²

Once you are rested, move on, sprinkling the jasmine buds growing in groves on the forest rivers' banks, with drops of fresh water. When they wipe away the sweat from their cheeks, the ladies collecting flowers bruise the lotuses on their ears, making them wilt. In granting shade to their faces, you will be momentarily appreciated.¹¹⁶³

Kālidāsa's three verses about the villagers indicate for Ranajit Sarkar that these women are "artless", and consequently, are unable to provide those pleasures which the courtesans can.¹¹⁶⁴

Although the village, as a poetic theme, remains, in this way, most of the time secondary, there are still some special functions attributed to it. First, it seems that the villages forming the suburban area around the cities are convenient places for religious activities. In the *Raghuvamśa*, the sacrificial stakes (*yūpa*) emerge as characteristic marks of some of them,¹¹⁶⁵ which hints at the semi-urban character of the *brāhmaṇic* religion¹¹⁶⁶ even in the Gupta period. This is also revealed at Rāma's horse sacrifice, when the contributing *brāhmaṇas* preferred to settle in the surrounding villages instead of the city:

*digbhyo nimantritās c'ainam abhijagmur mah^arṣayaḥ|
na bhaumāny eva dhiṣṇyāni hitvā jyotir-mayāny api||*

¹¹⁶⁰ *Meghadūta* 16.

¹¹⁶¹ MALLINSON 2006: 33.

¹¹⁶² *Meghadūta* 26.

¹¹⁶³ MALLINSON 2006: 39.

¹¹⁶⁴ SARKAR 1979: 356–357.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 1.45.ab.

¹¹⁶⁶ OLIVELLE 1990: 128–129.

upaśalya-niviṣṭais taiś catur-dvāra-mukhī babhau|
*Ayodhyā sṛṣṭa-lok'ēva sadyaḥ paitāmahī tanuḥ||*¹¹⁶⁷

Being invited great sages came to him from several quarters, leaving behind not only their earthly residences but even the starry (luminous) ones.

Ayodhyā with its four gates like so many mouths appeared owing to the sages having been quartered in the open space outside the city, like the form of Brahmā, with the newly created beings around it.¹¹⁶⁸

In other cases, the village, similarly to the forest, looks like a kind of reception area, and shows close affinity typically with the *arghya* ceremony. The kings in Kālidāsa's works usually leave their seat, and advance to meet the coming guests outside (*pratyud-yayau*,¹¹⁶⁹ *pratyujjagāma*,¹¹⁷⁰ *abhyupaiti*¹¹⁷¹). This behaviour suggests that the *arghya* for the guests should be offered somewhere in the suburban area. This is quite obvious in the description about Rāma's arrival at Ayodhyā, when Rāma and Bharata entered the city together only after Bharata had acted as a host to Rāma in the suburban area.¹¹⁷² Furthermore, if we follow Vallabhadeva's reading in connection with Dilīpa's retreat, a similar way of greeting is described, since, in this case, the *arghya* is presented again in the village just before arriving at Vasiṣṭha's *āśrama*:

grāmeṣu ātma-nisṛṣṭeṣu yūpa-cihneṣu yajvanām|
*a-moghāḥ pratigrhṇantāv <Dilīpa-Sudakṣiṇau> arghya^ānupadam āśiṣaḥ||*¹¹⁷³

They (i. e. the royal couple) reverentially accepted the efficacious (or infallible) blessings after receiving the offerings of *arghya* of sacrificers in villages which were (previously) granted to them by themselves and which were conspicuous with their sacrificial posts.¹¹⁷⁴

In connection with this latter verse, Csaba Dezső directed my attention to the idea that Dilīpa's visit, reported here, may also hint at the system of religious donation. In the beginning, religious institutions, especially Buddhist cloisters receive estates, rights for levying, buildings, etc. as permanent endowments (*akṣaya-nīvi*) from their supporters. Later, under the Guptas, there were mainly villages and lands donated in this *akṣaya-*

¹¹⁶⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 15.59–60.

¹¹⁶⁸ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 480.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Kumārasambhava* 6.50.b.

¹¹⁷⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 5.2.d.

¹¹⁷¹ *Raghuvamśa* 13.66.d.

¹¹⁷² *Raghuvamśa* 13.69–14.15.

¹¹⁷³ *Raghuvamśa* 1.45.

¹¹⁷⁴ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 18.

nīvī form to the *brāhmaṇas*.¹¹⁷⁵ This type of the contemporary donation under the names of *agrahāra*, *brahmadeya*, *brahmadeya-kul^âgrahāra*, and *cāturvaidy^âgrahāra* is, moreover, recognised in the copper-plate hoard of Valkhā.¹¹⁷⁶ Thus, it seems probable that Kālidāsa refers to this custom, when he characterises the villages of the *brāhmaṇas* as properties, which Dilīpa himself bestowed formerly.

On the basis of these characteristics, Kālidāsa's village seems mostly a *brāhmaṇic* settlement, which serves as ground for the Vedic sacrifices. Although it thus deals with religious activities, it remains in symbiosis with the city. In fact, the system of the *akṣa-ya-nīvīs* hints at a reciprocal cooperation between them, in which the city embodying the donor submits the incomes of the village to the *brāhmaṇas*, who, in exchange, guarantee the prosperity of the citizens through their sacrifices. This interdependence, however, yields the result that the village, just like the forest, always remains a secondary place with regard to both the city and the *āśrama*.

The Āśrama

Renunciation and ascetic ideals have been recognised among the most essential hallmarks of Indian religious tradition. In connection with this, Patrick Olivelle identifies two distinct, practical manifestations of early devout life, which are sedentary hermitism and wandering mendicancy.¹¹⁷⁷ Although these lifestyles are necessarily interrelated, it is, nevertheless, hermitism which developed into the popular topic of the Edenic *āśrama* in literature. In Olivelle's opinion, however, these depictions are inspired by nostalgic longing rather than historical experiences,¹¹⁷⁸ because this form of renunciation may have become outdated by the early centuries of the common era.¹¹⁷⁹

Such a romantic conceptualisation of the hermitage is revealed in Kālidāsa's works. As I have mentioned before, the *āśrama* forms a centre in the cultivated space as much as the city does. Olivelle regards the *āśrama* as counterculture which, unlike asceticism, did not arise to reject the structure of society, but to provide an alternative for it. Oli-

¹¹⁷⁵ NJAMMASCH 1971: 204–205.

¹¹⁷⁶ *agrahāra* (Valkhā Inscript. No. 18. p. 40. l. 5, No. 26. p. 56. l. 5.) *brahmadeya* (Valkhā Inscript. No. 7. p. 15. l. 5, No. 11. p. 24. l. 6, No. 14. p. 31. l. 4, No. 15. p. 33. l. 5, No. 16. p. 35. l. 5, No. 17. p. 37. l. 4, No. 21. p. 46. l. 5, No. 22. p. 48. l. 3, No. 23. p. 50. l. 4, No. 24. p. 52. l. 6, No. 25. p. 54. l. 6, No. 27. p. 58. l. 7.) *brahmadeya-kul^âgrahāra* (Valkhā Inscript. No. 8. p. 17. l. 4, No. 20. p. 44. l. 4.) *cāturvaidy^âgrahāra* (Valkhā Inscript. No. 19. p. 42. l. 6.).

¹¹⁷⁷ OLIVELLE 1990: 132–133.

¹¹⁷⁸ OLIVELLE 1990: 135.

¹¹⁷⁹ OLIVELLE 1990: 133.

velle has also suggested that the *āśrama* of the written sources rather existed as a legendary place.¹¹⁸⁰

Although the *āśrama*, as a part of the kingdom, is also under the sway of the king, in practice, it still works autonomously. Instead of the political authorities, it is headed by the *guru*, to whom even the king is subordinated within the borders of the hermitage. When Dilīpa arrives at the *āśrama*, he bows down before its chief, Vasiṣṭha:

tayor jagrhatuḥ pādau rājā rājñī ca Māgadhi|
*tau gurur guru-patnī ca prītyā pratinandatuḥ||*¹¹⁸¹

Both the king and the queen the daughter of the Magadha king touched (i. e. greeted) their feet; and the preceptor and his wife too (in their turn) gave a loving welcome to them.¹¹⁸²

This act, moreover, exemplifies Olivelle's idea about the counterculture, since here we face the reorganisation of the common social structure from the spiritual point of view.

Furthermore, despite the fact that the *guru* is basically a spiritual leader, his duties often remind us of the king's. Actually, the prosperity of the *āśrama* depends much on his presence. This close relationship resembles what we find between the king and his land. Thus, when Kaṇva of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* was absent, demonic beings occurred at his *āśrama*:

sāyamṇtane savana-karmaṇi sampravṛtte vedīm hutāsanavatīm paritaḥ prayastām|
*chāyās caranti bahudhā bhayam ādadhānāḥ samdhyā^ābhra-kūṭa-kapiśāḥ piśit^āsanānām||*¹¹⁸³

The evening libation has commenced. The shades of flesh-eating demons, tawny like the crests of twilight clouds, prowl around the altar flaring with the sacrificial fire, spreading terror.¹¹⁸⁴

This seems to be analogous with those disasters which arose in Ayodhyā when it became lordless.¹¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, it is also remarkable that it was the king, Duṣyanta, who was able to take over the protecting office of the *guru* until Kaṇva's return:

¹¹⁸⁰ OLIVELLE 1990: 135.

¹¹⁸¹ *Raghuvamśa* 1.57.

¹¹⁸² NANDARGIKAR 1971: 22.

¹¹⁸³ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 3.187. p. 170.

¹¹⁸⁴ VASUDEVA 2006: 171.

¹¹⁸⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 16.9–22.

UBHAU <ṛṣi>:

*tatrābhavataḥ Kāśyapa-muner a-sāṃnidhyād rakṣāṃsi parāpatisyanti| tat katipaya-rātram
sārathi-dvitiyena bhavatā <Duṣyantena> sanāthi-kriyatām āśrama iti*¹¹⁸⁶

BOTH:

Because his reverence the sage Kāśyapa is not present we are pressed by demons. Therefore, accompanied by your charioteer, deign to ensure the protection of the hermitage for a few nights.¹¹⁸⁷

Apart from this, the vivid atmosphere and the multi-colouredness of the *āśrama* also evoke urban life to some extent. However, instead of the activities of merchants, it is the sacrificial acts that are continuously performed here. Its location is, therefore, disclosed from a great distance by the rising smoke of the oblations:

*kuly^āmbhobhiḥ prasṛta-capalaiḥ sākhino dhauta-mūlā|
bhinno rāgaḥ kisalaya-rucām ājya-dhūm^ôdgamena||*¹¹⁸⁸

Trees have their roots washed by turbulent canal streams, the gleam of their tendrils is mixed with the rising smoke from clarified butter offerings...¹¹⁸⁹

*<Dilīpa-Sudakṣiṇau prāptau>
abhyuddhṛt^āgni-piśunair atithīn āśram^ônmukhān|
punānam <āśramam> pavan^ôddhūtair dhūmair āhuti-gandhibhiḥ||*¹¹⁹⁰

The hermitage where the volumes of smoke thrown up by the breeze and betokening the blazing (lit. mounting or rising) flames and odorous with the sacrificial offerings, sanctified the (royal) guests who were about to enter (it).¹¹⁹¹

The men of the *āśrama* are usually engaged in collecting fuel:

*<Dilīpa-Sudakṣiṇau prāptau>
van^āntarād upāvṛtṭaiḥ skandh^āsakta-samit-kuśaiḥ|
agni-pratyudgamāt pūtaiḥ pūryamāṇam <āśramam> tapasvibhiḥ||*¹¹⁹²

¹¹⁸⁶ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 2.102. p. 120.

¹¹⁸⁷ VASUDEVA 2006: 121.

¹¹⁸⁸ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 1.59. p. 66.

¹¹⁸⁹ VASUDEVA 2006: 67.

¹¹⁹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 1.53.

¹¹⁹¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 21.

¹¹⁹² *Raghuvamśa* 1.49.

The ascetics purified by Agni's appearance, bringing firewood and *kuśa* grass on their shoulders, came back from the middle of the forest crowded the *āśrama*.

The naive maidens do not understand jokes there, and they find their pleasure in taking care of animals and plants, instead of love affairs:

GAUTAMĪ:

*tavo-vaṇa-saṃvaddhido kkhu aam jaṇo aṇ-abhiṇṇo kedavassa*¹¹⁹³

Raised in the penance grove, she does not know deceit.¹¹⁹⁴

<Dilīpa-Sudakṣiṇau prāptau>

sek^ānte muni-kanyābhir viviktī-kṛta-vṛkṣakam <āśramam>|

āsvāsāya vihaṅgānām ālavāl^āmbu-pāyinām||¹¹⁹⁵

The hermitage in which the young plants had been left by the *munis*' daughters the moment after watering them for inspiring confidence in the birds which drank the water from the basins (at the foot of the shrubs).¹¹⁹⁶

On the other hand, the ethnical diversity of the city attested especially by the contemporary *Pādatāḍitaka*,¹¹⁹⁷ is exchanged here for the harmonic cohabitation of the animals, plants and hermits:

nīvārāḥ śuka-garbha-koṭāra-mukha-bhraṣṭās tarūṇām adhaḥ|

prasniḍbhāḥ kva-cid iṅgudī-phala-bhidāḥ sūcyanta ev'ōpalāḥ||

viśvās^ōpagamād a-bhinna-gatayaḥ śabdāṃ sahaṇte mṛgāḥ|

toyādhāra-pathās ca valkala-sikhā-niḥsyanda-lekh^āṅkitāḥ||¹¹⁹⁸

Beneath the trees are grains of wild rice dropped from tree hollows harbouring parrots, elsewhere one sees stones, oily from crushing *iṅgudī* fruits; the fawns are so trusting they will tolerate speech without stopping in their tracks, the paths to the ponds are marked by lines of water drops from the corners of bark-garments.¹¹⁹⁹

¹¹⁹³ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 5.114. p. 244.

¹¹⁹⁴ VASUDEVA 2006: 245.

¹¹⁹⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 1.50.

¹¹⁹⁶ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 20.

¹¹⁹⁷ *Pādatāḍitaka* 1.63. p. 30.●.

¹¹⁹⁸ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 1.56. p. 64.

¹¹⁹⁹ VASUDEVA 2006: 65.

Beyond these correspondences, Paola Rossi identifies three stereotypes distinguishing the *āśrama* from the other spaces. First, she claims that the *āśrama* is a sacred place.¹²⁰⁰ This statement, nevertheless, would be only true if we understood its sacredness as a capacity for religious activities, otherwise the *āśrama*, unlike untouched nature and pilgrimage sites, does not prove to be sacred in itself.

Secondly, Rossi brings our attention to the fact that the *āśrama* is an idyllic place, a kind of *locus amoenus* in Sanskrit literature.¹²⁰¹ With regard to Kālidāsa, nevertheless, we should again refine her suggestion, since as we have seen, the idyll of the *āśrama* is not ultimate, but it rather serves a particular group of people. In this question, therefore, I agree with Ranajit Sarkar, who proposed that the perfect place for Kālidāsa is that divine area of the *Meghadūta*¹²⁰² where the contrast between the city and the country disappears and both of them become equally beautiful.¹²⁰³ In this case, therefore, the place is constructed by the intermixture of the spatial elements of both the urban and the rural life.

Finally, Rossi designates the *āśrama* as a magical place, where *apsarases*, *gandharvas* and other sources of pleasure appear frequently.¹²⁰⁴ This third hallmark, however, seems to be a misunderstanding, since the marvellous things, which she collects here, are actually those typical obstacles, which the jealous deities, mostly Indra, produce to hinder the activities of ascetics, but not of hermits.

On the other hand, the fact that penance appears as a hallmark of the hermitage in a modern scholarly interpretation, hints that ascetic practices may have emerged gradually in the life of the *āśrama*. In its background, there is an important socio-cultural change, which Olivelle identifies as the domestication of the ascetic tradition.¹²⁰⁵ The essence of early asceticism was in fact the wandering homeless lifestyle, which, as Olivelle says, is nothing else than breaking the strongest bond of culture.¹²⁰⁶

However, as soon as the ascetic traditions got greater appreciation, the necessity to integrate them into the society surfaced. For this, the foundation of Buddhist and Jaina monasteries serve as the earliest examples, to which similar monastic communities under the aegis of “Hindu orthodoxy” were established at least by the middle of the first millennium.¹²⁰⁷

¹²⁰⁰ ROSSI 2009: 135.

¹²⁰¹ ROSSI 2009: 136.

¹²⁰² *Meghadūta* 64–79.

¹²⁰³ SARKAR 1979: 355.

¹²⁰⁴ ROSSI 2009: 137.

¹²⁰⁵ OLIVELLE 1990: 144.

¹²⁰⁶ OLIVELLE 1990: 139–140.

¹²⁰⁷ OLIVELLE 1990: 149.

Therefore, the idyll of the hermitic life characterises Kālidāsa's image about the *āśrama* mainly, but not exclusively, since the ideas of the emerging tamed forms of asceticism also influence them. Actually, there are two levels, on which we can perceive this.

First, when Kālidāsa describes an *āśrama*, he often uses words such as *tāpasa*, *tapo-dhana*, *tapasvin*, *tapo-vana*, which originally belonged to the vocabulary of the ascetic life. From this view, these descriptions seem to be anachronistic because they are, on the one hand, inspired by the old-fashioned form of the forest life preserved in the epics, and on the other hand, mingled with the elements of the likely contemporary ascetic traditions.

For this, there is a more apparent example found in the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, in which Kālidāsa provides a classic description of hermitic life in connection with Kaṇva's *āśrama*. Vedic sacrifice is revealed as the main activity of the place, with regard to which it is quite strange that Kaṇva, the head of the *āśrama* worries about the interruption of his ascetic observance:

KĀŚYAPA:

*vatse uparudhyate me tapo^'nuṣṭhānam| prativartitum icchāmi*¹²⁰⁸

KĀŚYAPA:

Child, my observance of penitence is interrupted. I wish to return.¹²⁰⁹

Similarly, the *Raghuvamśa* gives an account of Śarabhaṅga, who performed Vedic rites during his life; however, in spite of the Vedic ethos and in accordance with the ascetic schools, he might have remained sonless, since it is the trees that take up his duties towards the coming guests after his death:

*adaḥ śaraṇyaṃ Śarabhaṅga-nāmnas tapo-vanaṃ pāvanam āhit^āgneḥ|
cirāya santarpya samidbhir agniṃ yo mantra-pūtāṃ tanum apy abauṣīt||
chāyā-vinīt^ādḥva-parīśrameṣu bhūyiṣṭha-sambhāvya-phaleṣu amīṣu|
tasy'ātithīnām adhunā saparyā sthitā su-putreṣu iva pādapeṣu*¹²¹⁰

¹²⁰⁸ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 4.178. p. 212.

¹²⁰⁹ VASUDEVA 2006: 213.

¹²¹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 13.45–46 – Touching on Śarabhaṅga's passing away, Kālidāsa mentions that he actually sacrificed himself. Although there are examples for ascetics employing their own members as sacrificial offering (*Mahābhārata* 9.47.1–27), these usually do not terminate with the passing of the performers. Furthermore, if we take the account of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (3.4.3–36) about Śarabhaṅga into consideration – which attests that the sage, like an Indian Simeon, lived until he finally met Rāma – his step on the fire altar seem to be his entry to the transcendental world rather than a form of penance.

This purifying penance-grove before us which is a place of refuge (which offers protection to all) belongs to the sage named Śarabhaṅga who had kept a sacred fire and who having propitiated it with the sacred fuel for a long time, at last offered his body consecrated with *mantras* to that fire.

At present, the duty of reception (or hospitality) of the guests has devolved upon these trees which are, as it were, the virtuous sons of the sage, which remove the fatigue of journey by offering their shade and which abound with fruits worthy of praise.¹²¹¹

Beyond these cases of anachronism, Kālidāsa also depicts some *āśramas*, where ascetic practice occupies the central position of the ritual. Actually, these descriptions may have been inspired by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is among the earliest written sources presenting formerly homeless ascetics giving up their wandering lifestyle and settling in an *āśrama*. In this way, though these appearing communities may have developed into prominent institutions under the Guptas, Kālidāsa attributes them secondary importance, and dedicates only a few verses to them during Rāma's home journey in the *Raghuvamśa*.

First, Sātakarṇi's home at the Pañcāpsaras lake is presented.¹²¹² Its introduction seems an oxymoron, because Kālidāsa calls the place "a pleasure lake" (*vihāra-vāri*) of a sage (*muni*):

<Rāmaḥ Sītām uvāca>

etan muner mānini Sātakarṇeḥ Pañcāpsaro nāma vihāra-vāri|

ābhāti paryanta-vanam vidūrān megh^āntar^ālaksyam iv'ēndu-bimbam||¹²¹³

O lady of exalted mind, this is the pleasure-lake named, Pañcāpsaras of the sage Śātakarṇi (a tank where the *muni* used to sport), and which environed by woods looks from a great distance like the disk of the Moon slightly visible from among the clouds.¹²¹⁴

However, why would a pious man need such a frivolous place? For this, the subsequent lines give an answer, in which it comes to light that Sātakarṇi is a fallen ascetic, whose austerity Indra obstructed successfully:

¹²¹¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 414.

¹²¹² The story, to which Kālidāsa refers here, is set out in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which, however, knows the sage as Māṇḍakarṇi. (*Rāmāyaṇa* 3.10.11–17).

¹²¹³ *Raghuvamśa* 13.38.

¹²¹⁴ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 411.

*purā sa darbha^āṅkura-mātra-vṛttiś caran mṛgaiḥ sārdham ṛṣir Maghonā|
samādhi-bhītena kil'ābbhinītaḥ pañc^āpsaro-yauvana-kūṭa-bandham||*¹²¹⁵

It is said that formerly roaming in company with the deer and maintaining himself only upon the shoots of *darbha*-grass that sage was enticed into (lit. brought to) the snare of the youth of five nymphs by Indra, afraid of his (*muni*'s) asceticism.¹²¹⁶

It is also added here that, formerly, the sage had lived together with gazelles, and, like them, consumed only *darbha* sprouts,¹²¹⁷ from which many Sanskrit commentators concluded that he might have followed a vow, which prescribed the imitation of the gazelles.¹²¹⁸

Actually, this way of austerity has a long history in India. In connection with this, Diwakar Acharya analysed the text of *Pāśupatasūtra* critically, and pointed out that even Pāśupata practice may have issued from a kind of *go-* or *paśu-dharma*. Originally, the imitation of animals, especially that of the bull was a lifelong duty of the Pāśupata ascetics, which, later, became associated exclusively with the final stage of their vow by the time of Kauṇḍinya.¹²¹⁹ Because Pāśupatism was a flourishing sect under the Guptas,¹²²⁰ it is possible that this would inspire Kālidāsa's verse about Sātakarṇi, even though, I do not find this explanation very likely. On the one hand, Kālidāsa does not mention any characteristics, which would suggest that Sātakarṇi is a Pāśupata or a Śaiva practitioner. On the other hand, to behave like an animal (but not to imitate it) serves as general symbol of the wide ethos of Indian asceticism¹²²¹ rather than to be connected to a concrete sect. In this way, the verse only says that Sātakarṇi was an ascetic, whose *samādhi* caused fear even to Indra.

Although there is a wide scale of the several meanings of the word *samādhi*, there is a good reason to agree here with the commentators and take it as a synonym for *tapas* (penance),¹²²² since Indra ordinarily has anxieties about this practice. Furthermore, it is again he who is intent on disturbing the austerities in the next *āśrama* on Rāma's

¹²¹⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 13.39.

¹²¹⁶ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 411–412.

¹²¹⁷ At this point, the *Rāmāyaṇa* differs from Kālidāsa's account, since it states that the sage was living only on air (*vāyu-bhākṣa*) and has residence in water (*jal'āśraya*). (*Rāmāyaṇa* 3.10.12.d).

¹²¹⁸ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.●; HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.●.

¹²¹⁹ ACHARYA 2013: 109–112.

¹²²⁰ BISSCHOP 2010b: 483.

¹²²¹ OLIVELLE 1990: 134.

¹²²² ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.●; HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.●; JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.●.

way. Here, the ascetic is called Sutīkṣṇa,¹²²³ and, unlike Sātakarṇi, he seems to resist the temptations:

havirbhujām edhavatām caturṇām madhye lalāṭan-tapa-saptasaptiḥ|
asau tapasyaty aparas tapasvī nāmnā Sutīkṣṇas caritena dāntaḥ||
amum sa-hāsa-prahit^ekṣaṇāni vyāj^ārdha-sandarśita-mekhalāni|
*n'ālam vikartum janit^Ēndra-saṅkam sur^āṅganā-vibhrama-ceṣṭitāni||*¹²²⁴

Here is another ascetic by name Sutīkṣṇa but self-restrained in his actions, who is practising asceticism standing in the midst of four fires fed with fuel, and having the seven horsed Sun scorching his forehead.

Him who had aroused a suspicion in Indra, the blandishments (lit. graceful gestures) of the celestial damsels in which they cast (on him) glances attended with smiles and under some pretext or other partially manifested their zones, were not able to corrupt.¹²²⁵

Thus, in spite of the coquettish divine girls, Sutīkṣṇa uninterruptedly performs the typical forms of the asceticism such as *pañca-tapas* (austerity between the five fires), *ūrdhva-bāhu* (keeping the arm raised) and *mauna-vrata* (vow of silence).

In this way, concerning Kālidāsa's two descriptions about ascetic *āśramas*, two types of austerity surface. On the one hand, Sātakarṇi, who apparently conducted a simple forest life, failed, while Sutīkṣṇa's painful exercises prove to be fruitful. The difference between them recalls, therefore, Pārvatī's penance described in the *Kumārasambhava*.¹²²⁶ First, she adopted a less grievous way of asceticism by showing compassion for living beings and performing the typical duties of the hermits:

a-tandritā sā <Pārvatī> svayam eva vṛkṣakān ghāṭa-stana-prasravanair vyavardhayat|
Guho 'pi yeṣāṃ pratham^āpta-janmanām na putra-vāllabhyam apākarīṣyati||
kṛt^ābhīṣekām huta-jātvēdasam tvag-uttar^āsamgavatīm adhītinīm|
didṛkṣavas tām <Pārvatīm> munayo 'py upāgaman na dharma-vṛddheṣu vayah samīkṣyate||
virodhi-sattv^ōjjhita-pūrva-matsaram drumair ap'īṣṭa-prasav^ārcit^ātithi|
nav^ōṭaj^ābhyanantara-sambhṛt^ānalām tapovanam tac ca babhūva pāvanam||
yadā phalam sarva-samādhi-sādhanaṃ na tāvatā labhyam amamsta kāṅkṣitam|
*tad'ān-apekṣya sva-śarīra-mārdavaṃ tapo mahat sā <Pārvatī> caritum pracakrame||*¹²²⁷

¹²²³ Sutīkṣṇa is known from the *Rāmāyaṇa* as Agastya's brother. (*Rāmāyaṇa* 1.1.33.cd) During the exile, Rāma visited his *āśrama* twice. (*Rāmāyaṇa* 3.6.1–7.19, 3.10.26–42).

¹²²⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 13.41–42.

¹²²⁵ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 412–413.

¹²²⁶ *Kumārasambhava* 5.7–28.

¹²²⁷ *Kumārasambhava* 5.14–17.

By pouring water from breast-like pots, untiring, she reared all on her own the saplings, and even Kārttikeya, the Hidden One, will not displace her maternal love for these her firstborn sons.

She ritually bathed, offered oblations to the fire, wore bark as her upper garment, recited the sacred texts, and the sages came, eager to see her. Physical age is not taken into account in respect of people old in religious matters.

And that ascetics's grove where the sacred fire was maintained under a canopy of fresh leaves became actively holy, making deadly enemies lose their former antipathy, with even the trees honouring guests with whatever fruit they wished.

When she realized what she desired wasn't obtainable by the penance she had so far practiced, then, disregarding the softness of her own body, she began to perform a mighty penance.¹²²⁸

However, because these efforts, similarly to Sātakaṇṇi's, turn out powerless in fulfilling her purpose, Pārvatī gives them up and starts to perform harsh asceticism, which, finally, results in success.¹²²⁹

Although the idea of asceticism manifests itself in different forms, each of them represent individual expressions of religious piety, unlike sacrifices, which rather work as communal activities. Perhaps, this can explain the above-mentioned distinction between Kaṇva and his disciples. Actually, Kaṇva is an individual, and therefore, he performs asceticism, while the people of his *āśrama* are depicted as a community, for which the Vedic rituals are the appropriate religious activities.

In any case, it seems that if one leads either a hermitic or an ascetic life, it will benefit the kingdom. This is attested in the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, in which, Duṣyanta announces that the people of *āśrama* pay tax through their pious undertakings:

yad uttiṣṭhati varṇebhyaḥ nṛpāṇāṃ kṣayi tat phalam|
*tapah-śaḍ-bhāgam a-kṣayyaṃ dadaty āraṇyakā hi naḥ||*¹²³⁰

That tribute which accrues to kings from the castes is perishable. Foresters offer the imperishable sixth part of their penance.¹²³¹

As we have seen, the *brāhmaṇas* representing the hermits were ordinarily among the receivers of grants, which established their village culture. On the other hand, beyond these endowments, there is a great number of copper plates of Valkhā entitled as

¹²²⁸ SMITH 2005: 163–167.

¹²²⁹ *Kumārasambhava* 5.18–28.

¹²³⁰ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 2.84. p. 116.

¹²³¹ VASUDEVA 2006: 117.

dev^âgrahāra. These inscriptions register donations for several deities, which, in practices, means the support of several ascetic communities such as Āryacokṣas,¹²³² Bhagavacchiṣṭas,¹²³³ Mantragaṇācāryas,¹²³⁴ and Pāśupatas.¹²³⁵

Places of pilgrimage

While the Vedic sacrifices may have been financed by high-born members of the society, and the asceticism may have formed a viable way for quite a few extraordinary individuals, the institution of the pilgrimage emerged as the main form of piety among the common people.¹²³⁶ As the *Mahābhārata* says, it is such a religious performance, which can be accomplished by even the lowest members of the society.¹²³⁷ This perhaps implies the ambivalence characterising the common approach towards the places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*).

They are, on the one hand, often derived from Vedic religion, which means that they are regarded as places where outstanding sacrifices had been performed in the mythic past. On the other hand, although they uphold, in this way, the continuance of Vedic religion, the *tīrthas* also surpass it.¹²³⁸ Thus, the visit of the pilgrimage sites developed into being equalled with the fruits of several sacrifices, and thus the places arose as spatial realisations of the formerly dominant cult.

In the *Mahābhārata*, consequently, there occurs a need to popularise the pilgrimage sites, which suggests that the folk and the organised religion may have had some interaction with each other. However, it also seems that the social approval of the pilgrimage may not have gone without oppositions, to which Bhīṣma's doubting words allude in the introduction of the *Tīrthayātrāparvan*.¹²³⁹ This situation can easily recall the above-discussed domestication of the ascetic cults. However, pilgrimage, unlike austerity, has never become domesticated irrevocably, but it has been questioned and requisitioned ever since. Although the *Mahābhārata* sometimes introduces the pilgrimage as the innovation of the Vedic religion, in other cases, as James Hegarty

¹²³² *Valkhā Inscript.* No. 3. p. 7. l. 6.

¹²³³ *Valkhā Inscript.* No. 12. p. 26. l. 7.

¹²³⁴ *Valkhā Inscript.* No. 9. p. 20. l. 6–7.

¹²³⁵ *Valkhā Inscript.* No. 3. p. 6. l. 5, No. 5. p. 11. l. 6–7, No. 6. p. 13. l. 6–7, No. 10. p. 22. l. 7–8, No. 12. p. 26. l. 7.

¹²³⁶ BROCKINGTON 1993: 196.

¹²³⁷ *Mahābhārata* 3.80.37.ab•.

¹²³⁸ *Mahābhārata* 3.80.38.cd•.

¹²³⁹ *Mahābhārata* 3.80.26–27•.

pointed out, it pronounces that the *tīrthas* have already been surpassed by the listening of the religious narratives.¹²⁴⁰

In this way, the common thinking about the sacred sites is mainly determined by the dynamic change of the relationship between the folk and the current organised religion. As it is attested by the cave inscription of Uṣavadāta (Rṣabhadatta),¹²⁴¹ some of the pilgrimage sites achieved royal patronage under the Śakas. The inscriptions of the Guptas, on the other hand, deal with the restitution of the sacrifices,¹²⁴² which suggests that pilgrimage may have been pushed to periphery again in this period. Perhaps, this is perceivable in Kālidāsa's works, where pilgrimage never becomes a central topic as much as the rituals and the ascetic practices. His few references, nevertheless, reveal a Janus-faced image about his approach towards the *tīrthas*.

On the one hand, some of the pilgrimage sites depicted by him form a kind of magical space. Although they are certainly places on Earth, they are submitted wholly to the transcendental world. This means that the *tīrthas* serve as a kind of passage for the divine powers affecting human beings. Therefore, Kālidāsa associates them with inevitable happenings such as Indumatī's death¹²⁴³ and Śakuntalā's misfortune. With regard to the latter heroine, the *tīrtha* consecrated to Śacī, moreover, forms a twofold turning point in the plot. Because Śakuntalā lost the curse breaking ring here, the sacred site arises as a place where in spite of the human counteractions, Durvāsas's curse becomes effective.¹²⁴⁴ However, there are not only hostile powers employed in the place, but there is also an *apsaras* called Akṣamālā who arrived there to help Śakuntalā by forwarding the ring back to Duṣyanta.¹²⁴⁵ Based on these, it seems that Kālidāsa's pilgrimage sites are to manage the will of fate on Earth. This is, nevertheless, just partly true, since Kālidāsa referring to Kaṇva's pilgrimage to the Candratīrtha at Prabhāsa indicates that people can get in touch with the transcendental sphere at the *tīrthas*, and thus, they are able to alter what is written in the stars. In the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* Kaṇva went on a religious journey to prevent Śakuntalā's future trouble.¹²⁴⁶ In Śrīnivāsa's interpretation, this effort caused Śakuntalā's final release from suffering.¹²⁴⁷

¹²⁴⁰ HEGARTY 2012: 159.

¹²⁴¹ *E. I. Vol. 8. No. 11. p. 81; Sel. Inscript. No. 59. p. 167–170.*

¹²⁴² *CII Vol. 3. No. 4. p. 26–27 l. 4–5, No. 10. p. 43. l. 2, No. 12. p. 50. l. 16, No. 13. p. 53. l. 2, No. 60. p. 256. l. 3–4.*

¹²⁴³ According to the *Raghuvamśa*, Nārada went to Gokarṇa to worship Śiva. After that, the wind carried away the divine flowers of the sage and threw them on Indumatī. Because these flowers were unearthly (*a-pārthiva*) and tamed only at place of pilgrimage, their hit killed Indumatī. (*Raghuvamśa* 8.33–37).

¹²⁴⁴ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 5.105–108 p. 242.

¹²⁴⁵ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 6.41–44 p. 266.

¹²⁴⁶ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 1.48. p. 62.

¹²⁴⁷ ŚRĪNIVĀSA comm. ad *AŚ* 1. p. 61. •.

On the other hand, Kālidāsa adopts the epic attitude also regarding the *tīrthas* as “markers of the past”.¹²⁴⁸ This perspective features, actually, in the descriptions of the *Meghadūta*, in which the sacred sites leave their previous scenic (or more accurately extra-scenic) function, and transform into the main subject of the narrative.

Among them, the Kurukṣetra is described at first:

*Brahmāvartam janapadam adhaś chāyayā gāhamānaḥ
kṣetram kṣatra-pradhana-piśunam Kauravam tad bhajethāḥ|
rājanyānām śita-śara-śatair yatra Gāṇḍīva-dhanvā
dhārā-pātais tvam iva kamalāny abhyavarṣan mukhāni||*¹²⁴⁹

Plunging down with your shadow into the country of Brahmāvarta, you should go to the field of the Kurus, redolent of the warriors’ battle, where the wielder of Gāṇḍīva rained hundreds of sharp arrows on the heads of the princes just as you rain downpours on lotuses.¹²⁵⁰

Kālidāsa locates the Kurukṣetra in Brahmāvarta corresponding to the heartland of the *brāhmaṇical* civilisation.¹²⁵¹ This position in itself is an indication of the extreme sanctity of the site. The commentator Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, therefore, understood Kālidāsa’s phrase describing the cloud – *chāyayā gāhamānaḥ* – as plunging down into the field with its shadow as a further allusion to its sacredness, since he regarded the Kurukṣetra as a place, from the visiting of which impure beings, like clouds, were prohibited.¹²⁵²

On the other hand, the verse praises Arjuna’s heroic deeds, which, regarded as great war sacrifices,¹²⁵³ serve as the latest memory of the purifying power of the place. Kālidāsa, moreover, finds similarity between the activity of the cloud and the former hero, since Arjuna’s sharp arrows are imagined to be as beneficent for the heads of the defeated warriors, as the drops of rain for the lotuses.

After that, the panoramic standpoint is replaced by a close-up in the next verse. There occur many backwaters and ponds variegating the sacred district, to the presence of which the alternative name of the place, Samantapañcaka,¹²⁵⁴ likely alludes. The tradition identifies these waters with the earthly remains of the holy Sarasvatī, which Bala-

¹²⁴⁸ HEGARTY 2012: 154–155.

¹²⁴⁹ *Meghadūta* 48.

¹²⁵⁰ MALLINSON 2006: 53.

¹²⁵¹ *Manusmṛti* 2.17–18•.

¹²⁵² DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.48.•.

¹²⁵³ BROCKINGTON 1998: 16.

¹²⁵⁴ This name alludes to the five lakes situated on the Kurukṣetra, about which the tradition claims that they were born from the blood of the *kṣatriyas* annihilated by Paraśurāma. (*Mahābhārata* 1.2.2–7).

rāma visited during the Kurukṣetra War.¹²⁵⁵ Through the example of the drunkard Balarāma, Kālidāsa points out that the pilgrimage along the Sarasvatī is able to purify anyone. Therefore, the cloud messenger, just as Balarāma, gives up the former self-indulgent behaviour and goes on a religious journey. From this view, the Kurukṣetra occurs in a quite important position, since it performs the purification of the cloud before it enters the divine sphere.

Between the Kurukṣetra and Alakā, there is, in addition, a couple of pilgrimage places introduced in the Himālaya. To begin with, there is Kanakhala:

*tasmād <Brahmāvartāt> gaccher anu-Kanakhalam śaila-rāj^âvatīrṇām
Jahnoḥ kanyām Sagara-tanaya-svarga-sopāna-paṅktim|
Gaurī-vaktra-bhru-kuṭi-racanām yā vihasy'eva phenatī|
Śambhoḥ keśa-grahaṇam akarod indu-lagn^ormi-hastā||
tasyāḥ pātum sura-gaja iva vyomni pūrv^ârdha-lambī
tvam ced accha-sphaṭika-viśadam tarkayes tiryag ambhaḥ|
saṁsarpantīyā sapadi bhavataḥ srotasi cchāyayā sā <Gaṅgā>
syād a-sthān^ôpanata-Yamunā-saṁgam'ev'âbhirāmā||¹²⁵⁶*

From there you should go to Kanakhala and visit Jahnu's daughter, she who came down from Himālaya as a stairway to heaven for the sons of Sagara. When she grabbed Śambhu's hair, her waves like hands as they clung to the Moon, with her foam she seemed to laugh at the frown that appeared on Gaurī's face.

If you should think to drink her crystal-clear water and twist down like a celestial elephant, its forequarters hanging from the sky, then, with your reflection suddenly gliding along her stream and her confluence Yamunā seeming to happen out of place, she would be beautiful.¹²⁵⁷

Kanakhala was identified with Gaṅgādvāra (or Haridvāra) by some early scholars.¹²⁵⁸ As the verse certainly alludes to the famous legend about the descent of the Ganges, this interpretation looks plausible. However, Peter Bisschop has recently demonstrated that Kanakhala, associated with the place of Dakṣa,¹²⁵⁹ might be situated close to Gaṅgādvāra, from which it was, nevertheless, separated originally.¹²⁶⁰ This at once suggests that Kālidāsa also speaks about two different places here. On the one hand, though the name of Gaṅgādvāra is not announced, the mythological allusion of the verse as well

¹²⁵⁵ *Mahābhārata* 9.34.36–53.37.

¹²⁵⁶ *Meghadūta* 50–51.

¹²⁵⁷ MALLINSON 2006: 55.

¹²⁵⁸ KALE 1947: 84; PATHAK 1916: 94; WILSON 1814: 126.

¹²⁵⁹ *Skanda-purāna* 167.57–58•.

¹²⁶⁰ BISSCHOP 2006: 189.

as the nearness of Kanakhala may hint at this place. On the other hand, in this case, the phrase *anu-Kanakhalam* does not refer directly to the next station of the cloud messenger, but it only says that it should cross the Ganges towards Kanakhala.

In connection with this sacred district, Kālidāsa does not share much information. After the introductory verse, unlike in the description of Kurukṣetra, the great distance between the space and the position of the narrator does not disappear. Instead, the contact of the dark cloud with the whitish Ganges is imagined here as an imitation of the Saṃgama. This verse opens, at once, the door for a couple of verses enumerating the stereotypic features of the Himālaya.¹²⁶¹

This sequence is concluded by the occurrence of a further place of pilgrimage:

*tatra <Himālaye> vyaktaṃ dr̥ṣadi caraṇa-nyāsam ardh^ēndu-mauleḥ
śāśvat siddhair upahr̥ta-baliṃ bhakti-namrah parīyāḥ|
yasmīn dr̥ṣte karaṇa-vigamād ūrdhvam uddhūta-pāpāḥ
kalpante 'sya sthira-gaṇa-pada-prāptaye śrad-dadhānāḥ||*¹²⁶²

On a rock there is a clear imprint of the footprints of he whose crown is the half-moon, to which *siddhas* are constantly making offerings and which you should circumambulate, bowing with devotion. When the faithful see it, they are absolved of their sins after they die and are destined for a permanent place in Śiva's troop.¹²⁶³

Peter Bisschop identified this place convincingly with Mahālaya on the basis of the worship of Śiva's footprint described here by the *yakṣa*. Bisschop, moreover, claimed that this place may have been an important Pāśupata centre, to which Kālidāsa alludes with mentioning the presence of *siddhas*, the reward of becoming *gaṇa* and the term *karaṇa-vigama*, echoing the *vikaraṇa*¹²⁶⁴ of the *Pāśupatasūtra*.¹²⁶⁵

Beyond that, the *tīrthas* are usually revealed as individual locations in Kālidāsa's works, it may not be in vain to assume some relationships among them, since the epic sources on pilgrimage speak about networks of pilgrimage sites rather than single centres.¹²⁶⁶

From this view, there arise two main groups of the *tīrthas* here. First, the occurrences of the Candratīrtha at Prabhāsa, Skanda's mysterious shrine in the *Meghadūta*,¹²⁶⁷ and

¹²⁶¹ *Meghadūta* 52–54.

¹²⁶² *Meghadūta* 55.

¹²⁶³ MALLINSON 2006: 59.

¹²⁶⁴ *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.25.

¹²⁶⁵ BISSCHOP 2006: 179.

¹²⁶⁶ HEGARTY 2012: 157.

¹²⁶⁷ See p. 240–245 for further discussion.

the Kurukṣetra evoke that circuit, which Balarāma followed during the Kurukṣetra war. Actually, a distinct reverence is shown to this path, because, originally, it may have been based on a special moving ritual of the *brāhmaṇas*¹²⁶⁸ called *sārasvatasattra*.¹²⁶⁹

Apart from this predominantly *brāhmaṇic* form of pilgrimage, the other group of the *tīrthas*, namely Gaṅgādvāra, Kanakhala, Mahālaya, the Mahākāla's shrine at Ujjayinī, and also Prabhāsa correspond to the main Northwestern centres of the Pāśupata movement, which may have been flourishing centres in Kālidāsa's time.

Concerning these two classes of *tīrthas*, one may observe that the Northeastern centres are omitted. Actually, as we have seen earlier, there are references to the Saṃgama at Prayāga,¹²⁷⁰ but it is described as a beautiful rather than sacred place. The world-famous Vārāṇasī is almost completely neglected,¹²⁷¹ while the Gopratāratīrtha of Ayodhyā¹²⁷² does not seem more than a motif borrowed from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.¹²⁷³ In this way, it seems that Kālidāsa's personal knowledge may have concentrated on the North-western corner of the Subcontinent.

URBAN SPACE

With regard to the influence of the empire on Kālidāsa's poetry, the cities are recognised as royal abodes, which implies that they are places deserving to accommodate the king. In this way, the perfect city, like Oṣadhiprastha, the legendary capital of the Himālaya is an extremely prosperous place, where the towers scrape the sky, where fortified walls protect the citizens, and where love-seekers always find pleasures:

<ṛṣaya Oṣadhiprastham āseduḥ>
Gaṅgā-srotaḥ-parikṣiptaṃ vapraṇtar-jvalit[^]auṣadhi|
brāhmaṇi-sīlā-sālaṃ guptāṃ api mano-haram||¹²⁷⁴

Encircled by Gaṅgā's stream, it had herbs glowing on its ramparts, great jewels the stones of its walls, charming even in its fortifications.¹²⁷⁵

¹²⁶⁸ *Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa* 25.10.1–23.

¹²⁶⁹ BIGGER 2001: 158.

¹²⁷⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 13.54–57.

¹²⁷¹ The only exception is found in the *Vikramorvaśīya*, in which Purūravas's first wife is designated as the daughter of the king of Kāśī. (*Vikramorvaśīya* 2.4. p. 34, 2.23. p. 42, 2.170. p. 70, 3.20. p. 88.).

¹²⁷² *Raghuvamśa* 15.101.

¹²⁷³ *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.100.19–25.

¹²⁷⁴ *Kumārasambhava* 6.38.

¹²⁷⁵ SMITH 2005: 223.

*śikhar^āsakta-meghānām vyajyante yatra <Oṣadhiprasthe> veśmanām|
anugarjita-saṁdigdhāḥ karaṇair muraḥ-svanāḥ||*¹²⁷⁶

There the beat of drums from its houses – which might have been confused with the reverberation of thunder from the clouds clinging to its tower – is distinguished by hands beating time.¹²⁷⁷

*yauvan^āntam vayo yasminn <Oṣadhiprasthe> ātanikaḥ kusum^āyudhaḥ|
rati-kheda-samutthānā nidrā saṁjñā-viparyayaḥ||
bhrū-bhedibhiḥ sa-kamp^oṣṭhair lalit^āṅguli-tarjanaiḥ|
yatra kopaiḥ kṛtāḥ strīṇām a-prasād^ārthinaḥ priyāḥ||*¹²⁷⁸

There the oldest age was youth, Flower-weaponed Love the only disease, sleep produced by fatigue from sexual pleasure the only loss of consciousness.

Here women's anger with their frowning brows, trembling lips, and their charmingly threatening fingers, makes their lovers long for return to favour.¹²⁷⁹

On the other hand, the opulence of the city also depends on the presence of the king. This idea has already been revealed in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in which we read that Rāma forbids Śatrughna to leave his newly founded capital, Mathurā, alone for a long a time.¹²⁸⁰ Because Śatrughna obeys his brother, we should turn to Kālidāsa to get familiar with the negative outcome of this. According to the *Raghuvamśa*, Ayodhyā once remained without lord after Rāma's death, since Kuśa, his heir resided in Kuśāvati then.¹²⁸¹ As soon as the king passed away, his home started to decay:

*<Ayodhyāyām>
niśāsu bhāsvat-kala-nūpurāṇām yaḥ saṁcaro 'bhūd abhisārikāṇām|
nadan-mukh^ōlkā-vicit^āmiṣābhiḥ sa vāhyate rāja-pathaḥ śivābhiḥ||
āsphālitam yat pramadā-kar^āgrair mṛdaṅga-dhīra-dhvanim anvagacchat|
vanyair idānīm mahiṣais tad ambhaḥ śṛṅg^āhataḥ krośati dīrghikāṇām||
vṛkṣe-śayā yaṣṭi-nivāsa-bhaṅgān mṛdaṅga-śabd^āpagamād alāsyāḥ|
prāptā dav^ōlkā-hata-śeṣa-barhāḥ krīdā-mayūrā vana-barhiṇatvam||
sopāna-mārgeṣu ca yeṣu rāmā nikṣiptavatyaś caraṇān sa-rāgān|
sadyo hata-nyānkubhir asra-digdham vyāghraiḥ padam teṣu nidhīyate 'dya||*

¹²⁷⁶ Kumārasambhava 6.40.

¹²⁷⁷ SMITH 2005: 223.

¹²⁷⁸ Kumārasambhava 6.44–45.

¹²⁷⁹ SMITH 2005: 225.

¹²⁸⁰ Rāmāyaṇa 7.63.1–17.

¹²⁸¹ Raghuvamśa 15.97–103.

citra-dvīpāḥ padma-van^āvatīrṇāḥ kareṇubhir datta-mṛṇāla-bhaṅgāḥ|
nakh^āṅkuś^āghāta-vibhinna-kumbhāḥ saṃrabdha-simha-prahṛtaṃ vahanti||
stambheṣu yoṣit-pratīyātānānām utkrānta-varṇa-krama-dhūsarāṇām|
stan^ōttarīyāṇi bhavanti saṅgān nirmoka-paṭṭāḥ phaṇibhir vimuktāḥ||
kāl^āntara-śyāma-sudheṣu naktam itas tato rūḍha-trṇ^āṅkureṣu|
ta eva muktā-guṇa-śuddhaya 'pi harmyeṣu murchanti na candra-pādāḥ||
āvarjya śākhāḥ sa-dayaṃ ca yāsāṃ puṣpāṇy upātāni vilāsinībhiḥ|
vanyaiḥ pulindair iva vānarais tāḥ kliśyanta udyāna-latā madīyāḥ||
rātrāv an-āviṣkṛta-dīpa-bhāsaḥ kāntā-mukha-srī-viyutā div'āpi|
*tiras-kriyante kṛmi-tantu-jālair vicchinna-dhūma-prasarā gavākṣāḥ||*¹²⁸²

That royal road which had been once the resort of the *abhisārikās* with bright jingling anklets, during the nights, is now frequented by female jackals who seek carrion by the aid of the light emitted from their howling mouths.

Those waters of the lakes which once stirred gently by the forepart of the hands of young ladies at the time of sporting imitated the deep resounding of a drum now bewail (produce a mournful or bewailing sound) being struck violently with horns by wild buffaloes.

The pet peacocks (lit. pleasure-peacocks) lying (now) on trees their abodes of perching sticks being broken to pieces, devoid of their (usual) dance on account of the absence of taborsound and possessing a remnant of their plumes that are destroyed by the flames of forest-conflagration are reduced to the state of wild ones.

And on those flights of steps (lit. stair-cases) where fair ladies used to plant their feet dyed in lac, tigers that have just killed deer do now place their paws besmeared with blood.

The elephants (painted) in the pictures (on the walls) as entered into lotus-beds and as being presented with pieces of lotus-stalks by female elephants (now) bear the blows of the enraged lions with their temples shattered by the stroke of their goad-like nails.

The slough-strips left by cobras become, on account of their contact (with the breasts), a covering on the breasts of the images of woman (engraved) on posts which have a dusky appearance and the lines of colour (painting) on which have been disfigured.

Those very rays of the Moon though white like pearl-necklaces (once reflecting) now do not take effect (reflect) at night on the mansions, on (the surface of) which are grown here and there, shoots of grass, and the plaster on which is turned black by lapse of time.

Those garden-creepers of mine, the flowers of which were once plucked by the sportive women bending their boughs with compassion (i. e. gently) are now being destroyed by the monkeys of the forest as well as by savages.

¹²⁸² *Raghuvamśa* 16.12–20.

The windows displaying no light of lamps at night and bereft of the splendour of the faces of beautiful women during day time are now covered over with the cob-webs of spiders with the lines of smokes (completely) destroyed.¹²⁸³

In this way, the typical images of urban nightlife, which are full-grown in the description of Ujjayinī,¹²⁸⁴ are represented grotesquely here. In the place of the *abhisārikās*, the maidens going to secret meeting, jackals occur, while the water buffaloes occupy the lotus ponds. The terraces are still covered with red footprints, but they belong to the bloody paws of the tigers, instead of women. Finally, the snakeskins imitate the breast clothes, while spider webs substitute the smoke of incense. Thus, everything, which was formerly amusing and beautiful, becomes disgusting and terrible in want of the king.

This fact – that the figure of the king makes space rich and beautiful – evokes the intimate bond characterising the relationship between the emperor and the Earth. In some cases, therefore, the city seems to be ready to take over even the place of the Earth on the side of the king. Instead of the Earth, it is the capital, Ayodhyā, which, fulfilling its *dharmic* duty, keeps hair her braided until Rāma's return from the exile:

*prāsāda-kālāguru-dhūma-rājis tasyāḥ puro <Ayodhyāyāḥ> vāyu-vaśena bhinnā|
vanān nivr̥ttena Raghōdvahena muktā svayaṁ veṇir iv'ābabhāse||*¹²⁸⁵

The line of smoke of the incense of *kālāguru* issuing from the palace, being dispersed a little by the wind, appeared like the braid of hair of the city, set free by best of the Raghus himself who had returned from the forest.¹²⁸⁶

In another case, Ayodhyā personified as a woman puts on dress fitting for those wives whose husbands are absent from home, when Kuśa is away:

*ath'ārdha-rātre stimita-pradīpe śayyā-gr̥he supta-jane prabuddhaḥ|
Kuśaḥ pravāsa-stha-kalatra-veśāṁ a-dṛṣṭa-pūrvāṁ vanitām apaśyat||*¹²⁸⁷

¹²⁸³ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 499–502.

¹²⁸⁴ *Meghadūta* 31–32, 37–38. (See p. 222–223, 229.).

¹²⁸⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 14.12.

¹²⁸⁶ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 433.

¹²⁸⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 16.4.

Once at midnight Kuśa who was wide awake saw a female, never seen before, dressed like one whose husband is gone on travel, in his bed-chamber where attendants were asleep and the lights were steadily burning.¹²⁸⁸

On the other hand, some scholars, such as Chattopadhyaya and recently Shonaleeka Kaul noticed that this convergence transformed the Indian city into “the microcosm of the human universe”.¹²⁸⁹ Although the urban space is inhabited by different beings, chaos never overthrows it. Urbanism, from this view, seems to correlate to the spreading of the imperial order, which Kālidāsa also upholds, when he maintains that Dilīpa governs his kingdom as if it were a city of worldwide dimensions:

sa <Dilīpaḥ> velā-vapra-valayāṃ parikhī-kṛta-sāgarām|
*an-anya-śāsanām urvīm śāsās'aika-purīm iva||*¹²⁹⁰

He governed the Earth which was subject to no other rule and the encircling ramparts of which were the sea-beaches and the (high) seas were its moats, as if it was a single city.¹²⁹¹

In this way, the urban space, despite of the former disgust of the *brāhmaṇas*, has developed into an idyllic place, which has room for all goods and which characterises the empire. As a result, the poetic representations of urban space have become more and more stereotyped in the course of time. This led Rudraṭa in the ninth century¹²⁹² to present the idealised urban space as the habitation of the hero of the *mahākāvya*.¹²⁹³ In this case, the focus on the individual cities disappears, and the descriptions turn out to be clusters of mosaic-like images about the idealised city life.¹²⁹⁴

Although the traces of this process are discernible in Kālidāsa's works, his descriptions still touch on the cities as individual places, and therefore, they remain beautiful entities for him. They are usually more attractive than the countryside, and thus they embody heavenly pleasure on the Earth.¹²⁹⁵

¹²⁸⁸ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 496.

¹²⁸⁹ CHATTOPADHYAYA 1997: 198; KAUL 2010: 240.

¹²⁹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 1.30.

¹²⁹¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 13.

¹²⁹² GEROW 1977: 239.

¹²⁹³ *Kāvyaḷamkāra* 16.7.•.

¹²⁹⁴ CHATTOPADHYAYA 1997: 194.

¹²⁹⁵ SARKAR 1979: 355–356.

Pāṭaliputra

Because Pāṭaliputra, the old Magadhan capital served as the centre of the first Indian empires, it possessed a distinct importance in the early history of the Subcontinent. When Candra Gupta I, a native of the modern Mursīdābād District of Bengal¹²⁹⁶ acquired it due to his marital alliance with the Licchavis, he announced his claim for founding a new empire. This event seems to be echoed in the *Raghuvamśa*, in which Dilīpa, the first of the epic kings also married with a Magadhan princess called Sudakṣiṇā:

tasya <Dilīpasya> dākṣiṇya-rūdhena nāmnā Māgadha-vaṃśa-jā|
*patnī Sudakṣiṇ'ēty āsīd adhvarasy'ēva dakṣiṇā||*¹²⁹⁷

He had a wife born in the family of the Magadha kings, by name Sudakṣiṇā, a name celebrated for its nobility, like *dakṣiṇā* the wife of the sacrifice (a deity presiding over the gifts to officiating priests).¹²⁹⁸

The possession of Pāṭaliputra, on the other hand, entitled the Guptas to regard themselves as the heirs of the great empire-builders of Magadha such as the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas. In this way, they were also keen to reuse the former remains of Aśoka's empire in their artwork.¹²⁹⁹

Thus, this high reverence for the first Gupta conquerors as well as the Maurya-Śuṅga emperors seems to determine Kālidāsa's portrait of the Magadhan ruler attending Indumatī's *svayaṃvara*:

<Indumatī Sunandām uvāca>
asau śaraṇyaḥ śaraṇ'ōtsukānām a-gādha-sattvo Magadha-pratiṣṭhaḥ|
rājā prajā-rañjana-labdha-varṇaḥ Parantapo nāma yath'ārtha-nāmā||
kāmaṃ nṛpāḥ santi sahasra-saṅkhyā rājanvatīm āhur anena <Māgadhenā> prthvīm|
*nakṣatra-tārā-graha-saṅkul'āpi jyotiṣmatī candramas'aiva rātriḥ||*¹³⁰⁰

This is a king by name Parantapa and rightly so named, the refuge of those who look up to him for protection, of a spirit unfathomable, a resident of the country of the Magadhas, and one who has obtained fame by ever pleasing his subjects.

¹²⁹⁶ GANGULY 1938: 533–535.

¹²⁹⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 1.31.

¹²⁹⁸ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 13.

¹²⁹⁹ WILLIAMS 1973: 225.

¹³⁰⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 6.21–22.

Granted that there are other kings by thousands, yet they say that the Earth has, in him alone, a good sovereign; the night though crowded with constellations, stars and planets, is yet illuminated only by the Moon.¹³⁰¹

Although there are many kings in the world, it is the Magadhan ruler, because of whom the Earth owns really king. Furthermore, the fact, that the Magadhan king appears at first in the series of the suitors and that he is the only one, before whom the Vidarbhan princess bows,¹³⁰² suggested Mazumdar to take these verses as an allusion to the imperial Guptas.¹³⁰³ Chowdhary also arrived at a similar conclusion, when he called attention to the fact that the protection of the conquered rulers featured in the policy of the Magadhan chief of the *Raghuvamśa* and in that of Samudra Gupta.¹³⁰⁴

Although this way of interpretation makes sense, I find it less probable. In fact it would have been quite awkward if the Gupta emperors had listened to their own failure from their court poet. The image of the Magadhan chief rather seems to be a tribute to the empire builders of the past, who at once are surpassed here by the founder of the new, ecumenical kingship centred on Ayodhyā.

With regard to the Magadhan capital, Pāṭaliputra, though Kālidāsa mentions it as Puṣpapura,¹³⁰⁵ he does not give any concrete information about it. In this way, it seems that he may have been mostly ignorant of the rich mythological and cultural heritage, which surrounded the town.

Ayodhyā

If we accept Gawroński's hypothesis, according to which the *Raghuvamśa* is a poetic mirror of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka federation,¹³⁰⁶ it will seem a bit strange that the *svayamvara* episode reports the fall of the two Gupta metropolises, Pāṭaliputra and Ujjayinī, while it announces the predominance of Ayodhyā over them.

Of course, Rāma's legendary home is an obvious choice to introduce the running of the ideal empire, but the defeat of the previous centres may not have been favoured much in the Gupta court unless Ayodhyā also had a political importance then.

Actually, this claim is not groundless completely. The *purāṇas* maintain that the sovereignty of the Guptas was not confined exclusively to Magadha even before Sa-

¹³⁰¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 163–164.

¹³⁰² *Raghuvamśa* 6.25.♦.

¹³⁰³ MAZUMDAR 1909: 732.

¹³⁰⁴ CHOWDHARY 1955: 263.

¹³⁰⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 6.24.d.

¹³⁰⁶ GAWROŃSKI 1914–1918: 64–70.

mudra Gupta's conquest, but it comprised Prayāga along the Ganges and Ayodhyā.¹³⁰⁷ Thus, the *purāṇas* exhibit three urban areas, around which the early Gupta state flourished. Among them, concerning the ambitions of conquering the Western part of the Subcontinent, Ayodhyā seems an administratively more advantageous place than the old Magadhan capital, Pāṭaliputra.¹³⁰⁸ On the other hand, it was in fact the royal residence of the later Guptas.¹³⁰⁹ In this way, we should examine when the Gupta court occupied Rāma's home.

Because the Ilāhābād Pillar Inscription states that Samudra Gupta resided still in Pāṭaliputra (Puṣpapura),¹³¹⁰ some former scholars dated the imperial rise of Ayodhyā to Candragupta II's rule.¹³¹¹ Indeed, the annexation of the former territories of the Śakas presented the Gupta administration with a new challenge. However, the inscrip-tional sources do not maintain that any of the Gupta conquerors would have taken advantage of the central location of Ayodhyā.¹³¹² Instead, Candragupta II's realm, in all likelihood, revolved around two centres, Ujjayinī – which the emperor established as a secondary capital in accordance with the records of the Guptas of the Dhārvār district¹³¹³ and the allusions of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*¹³¹⁴ – and the old capital, Pāṭaliputra.¹³¹⁵

After all, if we still wanted to uphold the central role of Ayodhyā under Candragupta II, Paramārtha's work on Vasubandhu's life could serve as a last straw. According to it, the great Buddhist philosopher arrived at Ayodhyā, when Vikramāditya ruled there.¹³¹⁶ Since Candragupta II is generally known under this title,¹³¹⁷ the argument, at first sight, can be fairly convincing. However, he was in fact not the only one, who possessed this title. Paramārtha mentions Bālāditya as Vikramāditya's successor.¹³¹⁸ This statement is unsustainable in the case of Candragupta II, whose heir, Kumāragupta I is famous as Mahendrāditya.¹³¹⁹

¹³⁰⁷ PARGITER 1913: 53.

¹³⁰⁸ SMITH 1893: 86–87.

¹³⁰⁹ BAKKER 1982: 104–105.

¹³¹⁰ *CII Vol. 3*, No. 1, p. 6, l. 14.

¹³¹¹ CHAKLADAR 1963: 41; RAPSON 1898: 25; SMITH 1893: 86–87.

¹³¹² Although the Copperplate Inscription of Gayā, as an only exception, refers to Samudra Gupta's royal camp at Ayodhyā (*CII Vol. 3*, No. 60, p. 256, l. 1.) it is, probably, spurious and originates from the eighth century. (FLEET 1888: 255–256).

¹³¹³ BHANDARKAR 1933: 50.

¹³¹⁴ *Kathāsaritsāgara* 7.4.3, 18.5.84.

¹³¹⁵ JAIN 1972: 236; RAYCHAUDHURI 1923: 283.

¹³¹⁶ TAKAKUSU 1904: 283.

¹³¹⁷ MIRASHI – NAVLEKAR 1969: 29.

¹³¹⁸ TAKAKUSU 1904: 288.

¹³¹⁹ ALLAN 1967: xliii.

On the other hand, the appellation of Bālāditya, in all probability, corresponds to Puru Gupta's son, Narasiṃha Gupta,¹³²⁰ which, in this way, leads us to Skanda Gupta, who was also among the possessors of the title of Vikramāditya.¹³²¹ Furthermore, a rudimentary Rāma cult propagated by the imperial court may have emerged under his rule. The Śārṅgin (bow-holder) deity of the Bhitri inscription¹³²² as well as the archer type coins of Skanda Gupta may allude to this.¹³²³ Thus, the resettling to Ayodhyā fits this royal propaganda well. Besides, because the *Raghuvamśa* at large gives an account of Rāma's deeds,¹³²⁴ it may have also suited Skanda Gupta's taste.

Behind the royal favour of the worship of Rāma, perhaps Skanda Gupta's personal intention is observable. He was, actually, Kumāra Gupta's bastard son¹³²⁵ whose name was eliminated from the genealogical lists of the later Guptas.¹³²⁶ His claim for the imperial throne, in this way, may not have been welcome and he attained it only after struggles with his uncle, Ghaṭotkaca Gupta.¹³²⁷

Thus, it is less surprising that the king of humble origin turned to a great narrative, namely the Rāma-legend to justify his rule. The Ikṣvākus' lineage just as the Guptas' broke slightly after Daśaratha's death, because he was in fact not Rāma's biological father. In lieu of him, it was the greatest deity, Viṣṇu, who incarnated himself to save not only the humankind from the *rākṣasas* but also the dynasty of Ayodhyā. The myth, therefore, can serve as a paradigm for Skanda Gupta, whose power could be, in the same way, derived from a divine intervention.

Because Ayodhyā served as the capital of both the mythic Ikṣvāku kings and the later Guptas, one may expect that it is an important topic in the *Raghuvamśa*. Kālidāsa, however, shares only a few information about it. The first cantos of the poem tell the story of the horse sacrifice,¹³²⁸ the *digvijaya*¹³²⁹ and the *svayaṃvara*,¹³³⁰ which are the classical steps to found an empire, while there is almost no mention about the capital in this part of the epic.¹³³¹ This indicates that the seat of the royal court could be less relevant in the process of the empire building, since it remains unrevealed until Rāma's appearance.

¹³²⁰ WILLIS 2005: 141.

¹³²¹ ALLAN 1967: xlviii–xlix.

¹³²² *CII Vol. 3*. No. 13. p. 54. l. 17.

¹³²³ WILLIS 2009: 240–242.

¹³²⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 10.66–15.103.

¹³²⁵ BAKKER 1997: 26–27.

¹³²⁶ KULKE – ROTHERMUND 2002: 89; WILLIS 2005: 138.

¹³²⁷ WILLIS 2005: 137.

¹³²⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 3.39–69.

¹³²⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 4.26–91.

¹³³⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 6.1–86.

¹³³¹ *Raghuvamśa* 5.31.a – The only exception refers to Raghu's subjects as inhabitants of Ayodhyā (*Sāke-ta-nivāsinaḥ*).

Actually, it is Rāma's exile, which points first at the special significance of the city. As a result of his banishment, his brother, Bharata became the first candidate for the paternal heritage, who, nevertheless, did not desire it. Although he received the throne until the return of his brother, he left the imperial capital and moved his seat to the neighbouring Nandigrāma to dispel the doubts about his political ambition.¹³³²

From this view, Ayodhyā is an essential hallmark of the Ikṣvāku emperor. It is so true that Ayodhyā is sometimes ready to take over the place of the Earth on the side of the king, since it behaves as a royal wife from Rāma's time, on the contrary to the former kings like Aja, who enjoyed thus the whole Earth.¹³³³ Perhaps, it is this change, which surfaces behind Sītā's abandonment in the *Raghuvamśa*.¹³³⁴ When Sītā, the allegoric figure of the Earth¹³³⁵ was sent away for the sake of the citizens, Ayodhyā together with its people arose to fill the opening gap in Rāma's heart. In this way, when Rāma passed away, the citizens followed him to heaven,¹³³⁶ while the town took the appearance of a wife, whose husband was absent from home (*pravāsa-stha-kalatra-veśa*).¹³³⁷

Rāma's demise, on the other hand, provides an additional example for the special importance of Ayodhyā in the empire. Because of the decentralisation under his last years, Daśaratha's grandsons became heirs to a strongly divided state in which each of the eight princes possessed his own subkingdoms. In fact, they accepted the priority of Rāma's oldest son, Kuśa, but the eight separate territories, in practice, flourished independently:

*ath'etare sapta Raghu-pravīrā jyeṣṭhaṃ puro-janmatayā guṇaiś ca|
cakruḥ Kuśaṃ ratna-viśeṣa-bhājaṃ saubhrātram eṣāṃ hi kul^ānusārī||
te setu-vārttā-gaja-bandha-mukhyair abhyucchrītāḥ karmabhir apy a-vandhyaīḥ|
anyonya-deśa-pravibhāga-sīmāṃ velāṃ samudrā iva na vyatīyuh||
catur-bhuj^āṃśa-prabhavaḥ sa teṣāṃ dāna-pravṛtter an-upāratānām|
sura-dvipānām iva sāmā-yonir bhinno 'ṣṭadā viprasasāra vaṃśaḥ||*¹³³⁸

Then the seven other (viz. other than Kuśa) heroic princes of the family of Raghu made Kuśa, the eldest both in point of birth and personal qualities, the sharer of every thing best of its kind; for good brotherly feeling was a hereditary virtue in their family.

¹³³² *Raghuvamśa* 12.13–18; *Rāmāyaṇa* 2.107.1–22.

¹³³³ *Raghuvamśa* 4.54–55, 8.1, 8.7, 8.28, 8.83.

¹³³⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 14.26–82.

¹³³⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 13.77, 14.39.

¹³³⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 15.98–103.

¹³³⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 16.4.

¹³³⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 16.1–3.

Though they were greatly distinguished for their successful undertakings the chief of which were the constructions of bridges, agriculture (including the protection of cows, etc.) and taming of elephants, yet they never transgressed the boundary of the portion of land allotted to each, as the seas do not go beyond their coasts.

That family of theirs sprung from the portions of Viṣṇu (the four-armed god), who never desisted from the act of liberality being divided into eight branches, spread widely like the race of celestial elephants sprung from the *sāmans*, the flows of whose ichor are uninterrupted.¹³³⁹

To restore the former fame of the empire, the personified figure of Ayodhyā intervened, and chose Kuśa for her husband and called him home.¹³⁴⁰ Of course, Rāma's son fulfilled the request and rebuilt the town.¹³⁴¹ In consequence of Kuśa's efforts, the prosperity continued under his successor, Atithi who, though gained the first place among the kings, did not intend to conquer the world. Instead, Atithi's political as well as moral virtues resulted in his rise.¹³⁴² The love for Ayodhyā, finally, overflowed under Agni-varṇa, the last king of the *Raghuvamśa* who dedicated his whole life to urban pleasures.¹³⁴³

In this way, Ayodhyā is embedded deeply in the storyline of the second part of the *Raghuvamśa*. However, Kālidāsa seemingly misses all occasions to draw a picture about it. Although the lamentation of the dispatched Ayodhyā is really about the town, it enumerates stereotypic elements such as main road, market squares, staircases, etc. and elaborates, as a matter of fact, on the topics of ruins and desolation.¹³⁴⁴ Concerning the real hallmarks of the place, the great poet mentions just a couple.

Among them, the most significant is the Sarayū River, on the bank of which Ayodhyā is situated. According to Kālidāsa, it springs from Brahmā's heavenly lake, it serves the Ikṣvākus' sacrifices and it also behaves like their mother:

<Rāmaḥ Sītām uvāca>

payodharaiḥ puṇya-jan^āṅganānām nirviṣṭa-hem^āmbuja-reṇu yasyāḥ <Sarayvāḥ>|
 Brāhmaṇaṃ saraḥ kāraṇam āpta-vāco buddher iv'ā-vyaktam udāharanti||
 jalāni yā tīra-nikhāta-yūpair vahaty Ayodhyām anu rājadhānīm|
 turaṅga-medh^āvabhṛth^āvatīrṇair Ikṣvākubhiḥ puṇyatarī-kṛtāni||
 yām saikat^ōtsaṅga-sukh^ōṣitānām prājyair payobhiḥ parivardhitānām|
 sāmānya-dhātṛīm iva mānasam me sambhāvayaty Uttara-Kosalānām||

¹³³⁹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 495–496.

¹³⁴⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 16.4–24.

¹³⁴¹ *Raghuvamśa* 16.25–42.

¹³⁴² *Raghuvamśa* 17.1–81.

¹³⁴³ *Raghuvamśa* 19.4–47.

¹³⁴⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 16.9–22.

s'ēyaṃ madīyā janan'iva tena janyena rājñā Sarayūr viyuktā|
*dūre 'pi santam śīśir^ānilair mām taraṅga-hastair upagūhat'iva||*¹³⁴⁵

This is the river Sarayū whose source, persons of reliable testimony, declare to be the lake Brāhma, the pollen of whose golden lotuses is enjoyed by (has on account of their sporting in it adhered to) the breasts of the wives of the *puṇyajanas* (the *yakṣas*) as the Invisible Principle (*prakṛti* or productive principle) is the cause of intelligence, the great principle.

Which with the sacrificial posts erected on its banks propels her waters (flows) by the capital of Ayodhyā, – the waters which are made more holy (than before) by Ikṣvāku kings who entered into them for the sacred ablutions necessary for the *aśvamedha* sacrifice.

Whom my mind honours as the common mother (or nurse) of the lords of the Uttarakosalas, who are familiar with the pleasure of moving on her lap of sandy banks, and who are nourished (or brought up) by the abundance of milk-like waters.

And this I say is the river Sarayū which like my mother being separated from the king of the same country, as it were, embraces me being yet at a distance, with her arms of waves the breeze coming from which is cool. (transl. with modifications)¹³⁴⁶

The Sarayū is, in this way, part of the everyday life in Ayodhyā. The locals not only worship the river, but they also boat on it¹³⁴⁷ or have a bath in it just as Kuśa did during the extremely hot Indian summer.¹³⁴⁸

Kālidāsa connects a place of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) to the sacred river. This is Gopratāra, from where Rāma ascended to heaven together with his subjects. Kālidāsa compares the rising crowd of Rāma's followers to the cross of the cows through which he explains the name of the *tīrtha*:

yad gopratarā-kalpo 'bhūt saṃmardas tatra majjatām|
*atas tad-ākhyayā tīrthaṃ pāvanam bhuvī paprathe||*¹³⁴⁹

Because the concourse of the people who swam there was very great like that of cows swimming, therefore the place became celebrated as a holy spot on Earth by the name of Gopratarā.¹³⁵⁰

¹³⁴⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 13.60–63.

¹³⁴⁶ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 420–421 – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads *janyena* instead of *mānyena* in the second *pāda* of the fourth verse, and translates it as follows: “...being separated from the honourable king, my sire...”.

¹³⁴⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 14.30.b.

¹³⁴⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 16.54–16.73.

¹³⁴⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 15.101.

¹³⁵⁰ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 493.

Although Gopratāra occurs in epic and *purāṇic* literature,¹³⁵¹ none of these authorities shares this etymology. The *Vāmana-purāṇa* prescribes the worship of Kuśeśaya here,¹³⁵² a deity, which might be identical with Viṣṇu.¹³⁵³

There is still a slight confusion about the location of Rāma's death-place. On the one hand, there is Gopratāra on the west side of the modern Faizābād Cantonment which location accords with the description of both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Raghuvaṃśa*.¹³⁵⁴ On the other hand, another *tīrtha* by the name of Svargadvāra¹³⁵⁵ is known with the same claim, which has become the holiest place of pilgrimage in the heart of Ayodhyā from the eleventh century.¹³⁵⁶ This is a typical place to die, which in its full glory could have been a rival even for Benares.¹³⁵⁷ In this way, not only the Vaiṣṇavas but the Śaivas also have a high regard for the place. There is nowadays a temple dedicated to Śiva Nāgeśvaraṇātha, the patron of the town at Svargadvāra about which the locals maintain that Rāma's son, Kuśa established its *līṅga*.¹³⁵⁸

In connection with Nāgeśvara, the *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* recounts the story about Kuśa's marriage with Kumuda's sister, a *nāga* princess called Kumudvatī.¹³⁵⁹ The first occurrence of this legend is found in the *Raghuvaṃśa*.¹³⁶⁰ Because most of the available sources are unfamiliar with this tradition¹³⁶¹ and the rise of the sanctuary does not go

¹³⁵¹ *Mahābhārata* 3.82.63–65; *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.100.19–25; *Garuḍa-purāṇa* 2.6.62.c–63.b; *Padma-purāṇa* 32.35.c–38.b; *Vāmana-purāṇa* 57.8, 63.10.ab.

¹³⁵² *Vāmana-purāṇa* 57.7.c–8, 63.10.ab•.

¹³⁵³ The good reason to suppose this is that the name Kuśeśaya occurs in the several lists of Viṣṇu's names in the *Vāmana-purāṇa*: 60.18.a, 63.42.b.

¹³⁵⁴ BAKKER 1986: 328.

¹³⁵⁵ Incidentally, Gopratāra is also known as Svargadvāra. (*Ayodhyāmāhātmya* 59.28.d, 59.39.d, 59.41.d, 59.44.b, 59.105.a).

¹³⁵⁶ BAKKER 1986: 76.

¹³⁵⁷ BAKKER 1986: 76.

¹³⁵⁸ ECK 2012: 410.

¹³⁵⁹ *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* 13.15.c–33.

¹³⁶⁰ Kuśa at one time went to the Sarayū to relax with his harem. While he played with his ladies in the water, he lost his lucky bracelet. Because it was originally Agastya's present to Rāma, Kuśa got quite anxious and asked his fishermen to find it. Following this, they informed their lord that Kumuda, the *nāga* chief stole it. Thus, the king got furious and started to attack the snake. Yet, before he could do anything, Kumuda himself became visible and told him that it was his sister, the *nāga* princess Kumudvatī who took the ornament unintentionally. Therefore, she got married with Kuśa to appease him. (*Raghuvaṃśa* 16.54–88) The *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* follows Kālidāsa's poem strictly (*Ayodhyāmāhātmya* 13.15.c–24), however, there is a little modification in the outcome. According to it, Śiva appeared before Kuśa to protect Kumuda, and Rāma's son of course submitted himself to the great deity, moreover, asked him to be present forever there. (*Ayodhyāmāhātmya* 13.25–33).

¹³⁶¹ The only exceptions are some later works such as Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita* (4.22.) from the twelfth century (BAKKER 1986: 96.), the *Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa* (6.4.50–58) from the fifteenth century (RICHTMAN 2001: 7.) and Atirātrayajvan's seventeenth century play, the *Kuśakumudvatīyanāṭaka* (BAKKER 1986: 96.).

back earlier than the sixteenth-seventeenth century,¹³⁶² it seems probable that the priests based the sanctity of the place on Kālidāsa's work.¹³⁶³

Although the locals have associated the place with Nāgeśvara in recent days, the figure of the protector snake deity could be earlier. For its origin, an archaic snake cult may be responsible,¹³⁶⁴ the traces of which seem to be found at the rival Gopratāra. Kuśeśa-ya, the name of its local deity recalls Kumuda, because both of these names mean water lily.¹³⁶⁵ In this way, it seems that when Svargadvāra arose into the main holy place of Ayodhyā, it probably took over the characteristics of the once magnificent Gopratāra.

In any case, Kālidāsa's *nāga* king, more or less looks like a precursor of the later local deities. However, the correspondences on which this hypothesis is based, are not the most incontrovertible ones. They can only make sense if Kālidāsa, in fact, had been familiar with the town. About this, I am not entirely convinced. As a matter of fact, it seems quite untypical for him that he would not have grasped any of the many occasions to draw a detailed picture of Ayodhyā if he had really visited it.

Ujjayinī

As a matter of fact, there are not too many places in ancient India, the fame of which could compete with that of the colourful Ujjayinī. Among others, it is famous for being a Pāśupata centre,¹³⁶⁶ one of the twelve *vyotirlinga* sites,¹³⁶⁷ home of many tales of the *Bṛhatkathā*¹³⁶⁸ and not least the secondary capital of Candragupta II.¹³⁶⁹

Besides, based on the *Meghadūta* and also on the later folk tradition, it is widely supposed that Ujjayinī (Viśālā) was Kālidāsa's town.¹³⁷⁰ Despite the fact that it is not on the way to Alakā, the *yakṣa* hero of the *Meghadūta* recommends the cloud messenger to visit Ujjayinī,¹³⁷¹ which suggests that Ujjayinī, praised as a piece of heaven descended on the Earth,¹³⁷² had special importance for Kālidāsa.

¹³⁶² BAKKER 1986: 96.

¹³⁶³ BAKKER 1986: 96.

¹³⁶⁴ ECK 2012: 410.

¹³⁶⁵ MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 292, 297.

¹³⁶⁶ According to the Pāśupata tradition, after Śiva incarnated himself as a *brāhmaṇa* called Lakulīśa at Kāyāvarohana, he went to Ujjayinī, where he initiated his first pupil, Kuśika. (BISSCHOP 2006: 44–45).

¹³⁶⁷ FLEMING 2014: 62.

¹³⁶⁸ KEITH 1956: 268.

¹³⁶⁹ JAIN 1972: 236; RAYCHAUDHURI 1923: 283.

¹³⁷⁰ MIRASHI – NAVLEKAR 1969: 68, 88–89.

¹³⁷¹ *Meghadūta* 27. (See p. 219.).

¹³⁷² *Meghadūta* 30. (See p. 221–222).

Although the *Meghadūta* pays, in this way, distinct attention to Ujjayinī, its outstanding status is less apparent in the *svayaṃvara* account of the *Raghuvamśa*, in which the king of Avanti, as the lord of Ujjayinī, occurs among the defeated aspirants:

<Sunandā Indumatīm uvāca>
Avanti-nātho 'yam udagra-bāhur viśāla-vakṣās tanu-vṛtta-madhyah|
āropya cakra-bhramam Uṣṇa-tejās Tvaṣṭr'ēva yantr^ôllikhito vibhāti||
asya prayāṇeṣu samagra-śakter agre-sarair vājibhir uddhatāni|
kurvanti sāmanta-sikhā-maṇinām prabhā-praroh^āsta-mayaṃ rajāṃsi||
asau Mahākāla-niketanasya candr^ārdha-mauler nivasann a-dūre|
div'āpi jāl^āntara-candrikāṇām nārī-sakhaḥ sparśa-sukhāni bhuṅkte||
anena yūnā saha pārthivena rambh^oru kac-cin manaso rucis te|
Siprā-taraṅg^ānīla-kampitāsu vihartum udyāna-paramparāsu||
tasminn api dyotana-rūpa-bimbe pratāpa-saṃśoṣita-śatru-paṅke|
*babandha sā <Indumatī> n'ōttama-saukumāryā kumudvatī bhānumat'iva bhāvam||*¹³⁷³

This is the lord of Avanti. His arms are long, his breast is broad, and his waist is slender and round. He looks like the Sun god, [whose form] was created by Tvaṣṭṛ with a tool mounting it on his potter's wheel.

When this king marches possessing full force, the dust, raised by his excellent horses, results in the disappearance of the rays of light on the crest jewels of the *sāmantas*.

Because this king lives close to the Moon-crested deity [Śiva], whose abode is Mahākāla, he, together with his wives, can enjoy the pleasant touch of moonlight arriving through the lattice windows even during daytime.

O princess, whose thighs are beautiful, your mind may desire to walk with this young king in the rows of gardens, which are shaken by the breezes from the waves of the Siprā.

Although the body of this king was shining, and he dried up his mud-like enemies with his energy, Indumatī did not choose him, just as the lotus avoids the Sun.

In this case, Kālidāsa compares the king of Avanti to the Sun, the heat of which Viśvakarman (Tvaṣṭṛ) shaped on his potter's wheel (*cakra-bhrama*).¹³⁷⁴ This brings the popular legend about the weakening of the Sun to the mind of the commentators.¹³⁷⁵ According

¹³⁷³ *Raghuvamśa* 6.32–36.

¹³⁷⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 6.32.

¹³⁷⁵ ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.32.●; HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 6.32.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.32.●; NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.32.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.32.●.

to it, Viśvakarman decreased the heat of the Sun, his son-in-law for the sake of his daughter, Saṃjñā because it was unbearable for her.¹³⁷⁶

On the other hand, it should not be neglected that this story got a special significance among the Saura believers, who maintained that Viśvakarman created the first anthropomorphic sculpture of the Sun deity then.¹³⁷⁷ Thus, he did not reduce the energy of the Sun, but he made a more favourable human form to the formerly amorphous deity.¹³⁷⁸ The legendary event, in this way, alludes to an important innovation of the Sauras, which was the adaptation of the *mūrti* worship instead of the previous Sun-disk cult.¹³⁷⁹

Perhaps it is this latter version of the legend, which fits better into a royal eulogy, since the Avanti king would not be able to make one think of the Sun deity unless Viśvakarman had made human form to it. Furthermore, the Saura community of Avanti might have been quite prominent. Among others, the famous astronomer, Varāhamihira belonged to them, which at once verifies their vivid presence there even in the post-Gupta period.¹³⁸⁰

The resemblance between the king of Avanti and the Sun, on the other hand, serves as a frame in the description, since it reoccurs in the closing verse,¹³⁸¹ while the intermediate lines give a summary about the most important sights such as the Siprā and the Mahākāla temple,¹³⁸² which are described in detail in the *Meghadūta*.¹³⁸³

In this latter work, except the final Alakā, Ujjayinī is evidently the most important station during the two-day journey of Kālidāsa's cloud. Although it is not on the way to Alakā, the *yakṣa* suggests the cloud to stay there for a night because of the widely known courtesans of the town:

¹³⁷⁶ Although the legend is known in various forms, the several sources concur in its key points with regard to the storyline. According to it, Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter, Sūrya's wife, Saṃjñā suffered from the heat of her husband, and therefore, forsook him. However, Sūrya did not realise her miss so far, because Saṃjñā made an exact clone of herself called Chāyā (Shadow) with her ascetic power, whom she assigned her husband and children. Later on, in anger, this clone cursed Yama, one of Saṃjñā's children, which made Sūrya aware that she was not his wife. Therefore, he went to his father-in-law, Tvaṣṭṛ to bring back his wife. Tvaṣṭṛ of course helped him and decreased his heat to make the reunion with his wife, Saṃjñā possible. (*Brahma-p.* 6.1–54; *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* 2.59.27–84; *Harivaṃśa* 8.1–48; *Līṅga-p.* 1.65.2–17; *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* 77.1–78.35; *Matsya-p.* 11.2–39; *Narasimha-p.* 18.7–25; *Viṣṇu-p.* 3.2.2–12).

¹³⁷⁷ *Sāmba-purāṇa* 29.2–4•.

¹³⁷⁸ *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* 1.47.1–43, 1.79.18–54; *Brahma-purāṇa* 32.49–109; *Sāmba-purāṇa* 10.1–43.

¹³⁷⁹ SRIVASTAVA 1972: 263.

¹³⁸⁰ BISWAS 1949: 175–176.

¹³⁸¹ *Raghuvamśa* 6.36.

¹³⁸² *Raghuvamśa* 6.34–35.

¹³⁸³ *Meghadūta* 30–38.

*vakraḥ panthā yad api bhavataḥ prasthitasy'ottar^āsām
 saudh^ôtsaṅga-praṇaya-vimukho mā sma bhūr Ujjayinyāḥ|
 vidyud-dāma-sphurita-cakitais tatra paur^āṅganānām
 lol^âpāṅgair yadi na ramase locanair vañcito 'śi||¹³⁸⁴*

Although out of your way on your journey to the north, you must not miss the lovely terraces of Ujjain's mansions. If you fail to enjoy the eyes of the ladies in that city – flickering and fearful at your garland of lightning, their corners aquiver – you will have cheated yourself!¹³⁸⁵

In this way, Ujjayinī seems to be the zenith of the first part of the travelogue, the structural position of which the great poet apparently prepared well.

Before the capital of Avanti, there are two places mentioned, the mountain Āmrakūṭa¹³⁸⁶ and the Nīcaiḥ-hill,¹³⁸⁷ where the cloud can have a break. At both places, it is the women, who catch the attention, and thus determine the atmosphere of the first part of the poem. As the images of the countryside are gradually replaced by those of the urban life, the place of the peasant wives and the tribal women are taken over by the courtesans, among which the best wait for the cloud in Ujjayinī. From this point of view, the messenger looks like a pleasure-seeking bon vivant, whom the *yakṣa* would treat unfairly unless he let him see Ujjayinī, the best place for womanising. Thus, the idea to spare time for the capital of Avanti already occurs in Vidiśā, from where two connecting verses lead us to the earthly heaven of the courtesans:

*vici-kṣobha-stanita-vihaga-śreṇi-kāñcī-guṇāyāḥ
 samsarpantyāḥ skhalita-su-bhagaṃ darśit^āvarta-nābheḥ|
 Nirvindhyāyāḥ pathi bhava ras^âbhyantaraḥ saṃnipatya
 strīṇām ādyaṃ praṇaya-vacanaṃ vibhramo hi priyeṣu||
 veṇī-bhūta-pratanu-salilāṃ tām atītasya sindhum
 pāṇdu-cchāyām tata-ruha-taru-bhramśibhir jīrṇa-parṇaiḥ|
 saubhāgyaṃ te su-bhaga virah^âvasthayā vyañjayantīm
 kārśyaṃ yena tyajati vidhinā sa tvay'aiv'ôpapādyah||¹³⁸⁸*

On the way, when you reach the Nirvindhyā, her girdle-string a row of birds calling out at the tossing of her waves as she slips by, stumbling delightfully, her navel showing itself in

¹³⁸⁴ *Meghadūta* 27.

¹³⁸⁵ MALLINSON 2006: 39.

¹³⁸⁶ *Meghadūta* 17.♦.

¹³⁸⁷ *Meghadūta* 25. (See p. 234–235).

¹³⁸⁸ *Meghadūta* 28–29.

her whirlpools, take her water on board/affection to heart, for playfulness is a woman's first expression of fondness for a sweetheart.

When you leave that river behind, her meagre waters will become like a braid of hair and her complexion will grow pale with dead leaves falling from the trees on her banks. Lucky you! She is showing her affection for you through her lovelorn condition – only you can do what must be done to stop her being so thin.¹³⁸⁹

These verses not only define the geographical boundaries of the next station, but also suit the amorous atmosphere. The Nirvindhya serving as a border between Avanti and Daśārṇa (the country centred on Vidiśā)¹³⁹⁰ appears as the first courtesan of the coming pleasure garden, who distracts the cloud from its mission with her coquettish behaviour. Here, the *yakṣa* asks his messenger to be refilled with water (*rasa*). This expression is generally understood as *śleṣa* suggesting that the cloud should be full of love with this woman-like river.¹³⁹¹

After that, the following verse uncovers another aspect of the river. Instead of the previously flirtatious maiden, now, we encounter a pale, scrawny wife, whom the long separation of his husband distresses and the suffering of whom the cloud should ease. Although the commentators mostly maintain that the verse is still about the Nirvindhya,¹³⁹² there are some modern scholars, who took the word *sindhu* (river) as a proper name and identify it with the modern Kālī Sindh.¹³⁹³ In point of fact, this thought was not completely unknown for the Sanskrit interpreters either. Among them, Pūrṇasarasvatī and Parameśvara adopted it without the concrete identification of the river,¹³⁹⁴ while others such as Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and Mallinātha referred to it as a wrong idea.¹³⁹⁵

In any case, the main argument for the existence of the two rivers is the contrast between the two different roles, in which only one river can hardly appear.¹³⁹⁶ However, there are some good reasons not to accept this standpoint. First, it is not untypical for Kālidāsa to depict the same topic with opposing epithets. Besides, concerning his

¹³⁸⁹ MALLINSON 2006: 41.

¹³⁹⁰ DEY 1979: 35.

¹³⁹¹ DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.28.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.29.●; PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad *MD* 1.28.●; PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.28.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 28.●.

¹³⁹² DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.29.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.30.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 29.●.

¹³⁹³ CHAKLADAR 1963: 67; DEY 1979: 141; WESTRA 2012: 20–21.

¹³⁹⁴ PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad *MD* 1.29.●; PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.29.●.

¹³⁹⁵ DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.29.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.30.●.

¹³⁹⁶ HAZRA 1949: 278.

vocabulary, the word *sindhu*, most of the time, occurs in its common sense which also suggests to reject any alternative ways of interpretation.¹³⁹⁷

Finally, the problem is perceivable on the level of the textual tradition as well. It is the genitive absolute structure (*te atītasya*), the explanation of which, apparently, tells apart the several recensions. In the Kashmirian version, the river with its many characteristics serves as an object for the participle. Here, it is out of question that this river is the Nirvindhya of the previous verse, since the employment of the pronoun *tad* makes it clear.

However, this form of the verse seems to have been problematic for the later readers. Beyond the above-discussed disconformity with the foregoing verse, the want of the subject in the main sentence may have troubled them. In the Jaina *Pārśvābhyudaya* and in the Keralan recension, therefore, the word *sindhu* with its epithets appears in nominative case, while the pronoun *tad* remains the single adjunct of the participle.¹³⁹⁸ It is this structure, which implies the interpretation of Pūrṇasarasvatī and Parameśvara, according to whom, the pronoun refers to the previous Nirvindhya, while the other epithets are connected to another, unnamed river. Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's and Mallinātha's reading may have been a hypercorrection against this standpoint, which put the pronoun *tad* also into nominative case and left the participle without any adjunctions.¹³⁹⁹

The two verses of the Nirvindhya as a poetic retardation lead us from Vidiśā to the heart of Avanti. Kālidāsa specifies the whole country headed by Ujjayinī as the place, where the old villagers are versed in the story of Udayana:

*prāpy'Āvantīm Udayana-kathā-kovida-grāma-vṛddhān
pūrv^ōddiṣṭām anusara purīm śrī-viśālām Viśālām|
sv-alpī-bhūte su-carita-phale svargīnām gām gatānām
śeṣaiḥ punyair hṛtam iva divaḥ kāntimat khaṇḍam ekam||*¹⁴⁰⁰

¹³⁹⁷ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 5.21. p. 317; *Kumārasambhava* 3.6, 5.84; *Meghadūta* 46; *Raghuvamśa* 4.36, 13.9. – In this case, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* arises as an exception, in which the reference to the presence of the Yavanas makes it probable that the word *Sindhu* should be taken here as a proper name. (*Mālavikāgnimitra* 5.149. p. 198.♦).

¹³⁹⁸ *Meghadūta* *K_{ed}* 1.29.♦; *Meghadūta–Pārśvābhyudaya* 29.♦.

¹³⁹⁹ *Meghadūta* *D_{ed}* 1.29.♦ – Mallinātha's commentary is incorporated into Pathak's edition (1916) of the Jaina *Meghadūta* (*–Pārśvābhyudaya*) and it is also edited by Kale (1947). However, Mallinātha's commentary indicates that these are not identical with the version, that the commentator used. On its basis, it seems that the correct reading is included in Godbole and Parab's edition (*Meghadūta* *M_{ed}*, 1890), according to which he may have read *asau* ('*sāv*') in the place of *sā tu* (*sā tv*). This, probably, led Mallinātha to a similar interpretation to what Dakṣiṇāvartanātha shared. Beyond them, the *sā vyatītasya* reading of several manuscripts in De's edition shows the same attempt. (DE 1970: 11.).

¹⁴⁰⁰ *Meghadūta* 30.

On reaching the land of Avanti, its village elders expert tellers of tales of Udayana, go to the city just mentioned, magnificent Viśālā, which is as if inhabitants of paradise, on returning to Earth with the rewards of their good deeds almost spent, have used the last of their merits to seize a single, beautiful fragment of heaven.¹⁴⁰¹

Although there are numerous legends known about this king of Kauśāmbi,¹⁴⁰² I agree with Pūrṇasarasvatī here, who regarded this as a concrete allusion to the capture of Vāsavadattā.¹⁴⁰³ Because it is one of the most popular love stories of ancient India, it upholds the amorous atmosphere, which the previous introductory verses have indicated. This standpoint was shared by Pūrṇasarasvatī and Parameśvara, both of whom maintained that this hallmark indicated the lustful nature of the locals, among which even the old men were conversant with the love story.¹⁴⁰⁴

On the other hand, the verse, echoing the *Brhatkathāślokaṣaṁgraha*,¹⁴⁰⁵ illustrates the town as a piece of heaven, which is established by the celestial beings with the remaining fruits of their good deeds on the Earth before their fall from the sky. In this way, Ranajit Sarkar's remark seems valid that it was Ujjayinī, not the forest and the groves of the countryside, which as a perfect place, as an accessible Alakā embodied the most idyllic earthly place for Kālidāsa.¹⁴⁰⁶

Mirjam Westra, on the other hand, has proposed recently that the verse hints at the origin myth of the famous Kumbha Mela. Actually, she claimed that the *divaḥ ekam kāntimat khaṇḍam* (one splendid piece of heaven) expression referred to one of the four *amṛta* drops which Garuḍa had spilled out on the Earth.¹⁴⁰⁷ I am, however, quite doubtful of her supposition, because the Kumbha Melas, though their origin is often dated to the ancient period, may not have been held before the twelfth century.¹⁴⁰⁸

After the arrival in Ujjayinī, Kālidāsa continues to describe the place as a pleasure garden:

dīrghī-kurvan paṭu mada-kalam kūjitaṁ sārasānām
pratyūṣeṣu sphuṭita-kamalāmoda-maitrī-kaśāyāḥ
yatra <Ujjayinyām> strīṇām harati surata-glānim aṅgānukūlaḥ
Siprā-vātaḥ priyatama iva prārthanā-cātu-kārah||

¹⁴⁰¹ MALLINSON 2006: 41.

¹⁴⁰² MANI 1984: 801–803.

¹⁴⁰³ PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.30.●.

¹⁴⁰⁴ PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad *MD* 1.30.●; PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.30.●.

¹⁴⁰⁵ *Brhatkathāślokaṣaṁgraha* 1.4.●.

¹⁴⁰⁶ SARKAR 1979: 356.

¹⁴⁰⁷ WESTRA 2012: 21–22.

¹⁴⁰⁸ DUBEY 2001: 22.

jāl^ôdgîrñair upacita-vapuḥ keśa-saṃskāra-dhūmair
bandhu-prītyā bhavana-sikhibhir datta-nṛtt^ôpahāraḥ|
harmyeṣv asyāḥ kusuma-surabhiṣv adhva-khinn^āntar^ātmā
nītvā rātriṃ lalita-vanītā-pāda-rāg^āṅkīteṣu||
bhartuḥ kaṇṭha-cchavir iti gaṇaiḥ s^ādaram drśyamānaḥ
punyaṃ yāyās tri-bhuvana-guror dhāma Caṇḍeśvarasya|
dhūt^ôdyānaṃ kuvalaya-rajo-gandhibhir Gandhavatyās
*toya-kriḍā-nirata-yuvati-snāna-tiktair marudbhiḥ||*¹⁴⁰⁹

In the mornings there, the breeze from the Siprā, drawing out the shrill, drunken warble of the cranes, is fragrant from union with the scent of opened lotuses. Agreeable on the body, it takes away the ladies' languor after lovemaking like a sweet-talking suitor soliciting favors. Wearied by your journey, you should spend the night there atop mansions fragrant with flowers and marked with red dye from the feet of lovely ladies. Your body will be engorged with the scented smoke for dressing hair pouring forth from lattice-windows, and the peacocks on the houses will, with brotherly affection, give you their dancing as offerings. Then, under the *gaṇas*' respectful gaze – for you are the color of their master's throat – you should proceed to the sacred home of Caṇḍeśvara, the teacher of the three worlds, where the gardens are fanned by breezes from Gandhavatī scented with water-lily pollen and pungent from the bathing of the maidens who love to sport in her water.¹⁴¹⁰

First, we meet the local women, who are exhausted from the sexual intercourses.¹⁴¹¹ The breeze of the river Siprā scented by lotuses increases the warbling of the cranes (*sārasa*), and moreover, it manifests itself as their lover to lessen their fatigue.

This amorous image continues in the following lines, in which the *yakṣa* advises the cloud to spend the night here. Thus, it is the nightlife of the palaces of Ujjayinī, which is depicted in the next verse. Peacocks are dancing and greet the arriving guest. Some of the women dye hair and at the same time they make the body of the cloud larger with the black vapour of their colourant. Others have already gone to secret meetings with their lovers, who are, nevertheless, unveiled by their red footprints on the mansions.

¹⁴⁰⁹ *Meghadūta* 31–33.

¹⁴¹⁰ MALLINSON 2006: 43.

¹⁴¹¹ Here, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha did not agree with the other commentators, but instead he interpreted the *surata-kheda* expression as an allusion to the want of the sexual unions. (DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.31.♦).

Because this verse, being governed by the absolutive form of the verbal root $\sqrt{nī}$, does not contain any conjugated verbs, it necessarily joins the subsequent one, in which the *yakṣa* asks the cloud to visit the abode of Caṇḍeśvara, and forms a *yugalaka* with it.

However, the fact that the cloud has to spend a night before the visit of the sanctuary may have been problematic for most of the interpreters. We find the first step of the alteration in the *Pārśvābhyudaya* and in the Keralan recension. Instead of *nītvā rātrim*, they read *nītvā khedaṃ* and *khedaṃ nītvā*,¹⁴¹² which, in this way, refer to the removal of the fatigue. Behind this change, the motivation should be found in the plot of the poem. After some verses, the *yakṣa* describes a twilight ritual at the Mahākāla temple, in which he suggests the cloud to take part if he comes here next time. From this view, it is unreasonable why the cloud would not take part in it if it had already arrived in the town before sunset.

In Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and Mallinātha's commentaries, we see the further development of this secondary reading. On the one hand, a conjugated form of the $\sqrt{nī}$ (*naye-thāḥ*) takes up the place of the former absolutive, on the other hand, a new syntagma, *lakṣmīm paśyan* arises, while the former *adhva-khinn^āntar^ātmā* disappears.¹⁴¹³ In consequence of these alterations, the *yugalaka* form disbands, which probably results in the transmitters not feeling the cause and effect relationship between the visiting of the sanctuary and taking a rest strong enough. The splendour of the palaces gives new strength to the cloud here.

Beyond this philological reasoning, I think that the plot of Kālidāsa's poem also affirms the priority of the Kashmirian recension. The fact, that the cloud spends the night in Ujjayinī, divides the poem into two parts. As I have emphasised earlier, the messenger behaves like a lustful person on the first day, which maximises in the courtesans' quarter of Ujjayinī. In contrast, the pilgrimage sites come into prominence on the second day, the series of which also starts in the Avanti capital with Caṇḍeśvara's home.

Although both the Sanskrit commentators¹⁴¹⁴ and the modern scholars¹⁴¹⁵ in general identify this deity with Śiva Mahākāla, the patron of the town, I am quite sceptical about this view, since neither the *Kumārasambhava* nor the *Raghuvamśa* contain any occurrences of this name even though the previous one elaborating a Śaiva legend really comprises a wide scale of Śiva's different names.¹⁴¹⁶ On the other hand, as Diwakar

¹⁴¹² *Meghadūta K_{ed}* 1.32.d; *Meghadūta–Pārśvābhyudaya* 34.d.

¹⁴¹³ *Meghadūta M_{ed}* 1.35.●.

¹⁴¹⁴ DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.33.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.33.●; PŪRṆASARAS-VATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.32.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 33.●.

¹⁴¹⁵ MALLINSON 2006: 275; PATHAK 1916: 86; UPADHYAYA 1947: 320.

¹⁴¹⁶ The name of Caṇḍeśvara, incidentally, occurs as a problem in the textual tradition as well. Although the transmitters seemingly understood it as a reference to Śiva, its unusualness occurred to some of them

Acharya has already put forward, this shrine could belong to a minor Śaiva deity called Caṇḍeśa or Caṇḍeśvara¹⁴¹⁷ whose worship possibly goes back to the Gupta period.¹⁴¹⁸ Based on the *Śivadharmasāstra*, Peter Bisschop pointed out that the initial role of this divine figure was the chastising as well as the purifying of crimes, which include even the *brahma-hatyā* (killing a *brāhmaṇa*).¹⁴¹⁹

Bearing this in mind, we turn back to Kālidāsa's verse, in which Caṇḍeśvara's shrine appears next to the river Gandhavatī, the breezes of which blow there. According to the *Picumata*, it was this river's bank where Śiva cut off Brahmā's fifth head.¹⁴²⁰ This tradition is more or less upheld by the *Āvantiyakhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, which says that the river was born from Brahmā's blood.¹⁴²¹ In this way, the presence of Caṇḍeśvara as purifier of the *brahmahatyā* seems quite appropriate here.

Besides, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* states that the cremation ground (*śmaśāna*) is situated on the bank of the Gandhavatī.¹⁴²² If it was identical with Caṇḍeśvara's home, the *Meghadūta* would refer to a quite sacred place where Lakulīśa, the divine founder of the Pāśupata sect initiated his first pupil, Kauśika.¹⁴²³ However, this is not without doubt, since Kālidāsa describes the river as a lovely place, where young maidens play among water-lilies with attractive attributes, which can hardly characterise a cremation ground.

After Caṇḍeśvara's shrine, the *yakṣa* starts to describe in detail the famous Mahākāla temple, the visit of which he seemingly recommends for another time. Here, the worship of Mahākāla is introduced, in which the cloud becomes responsible for the drum:

*apy anyasmiṇ jaladhara Mahākālam āsādyā kāle
sthātavyaṃ te nayana-viṣayaṃ yāvad abhyeti bhānuḥ|
kurvan samdhyā-bali-patahatām Śūlināḥ ślāghanīyām
āmandrāṇām phalam a-vi-kalam lapsyase garjitānām||
pāda-nyāsa-kvaṇita-raśanās tatra līl^āvadhūtai
ratna-cchāyā-khacita-valibhiś cāmaraiḥ klānta-hastāḥ|*

(*Meghadūta* *Med* 1.33; *Meghadūta-Pārśvābhyaśaya* 35.), who may have, therefore, exchanged it for Caṇḍeśvara (the husband of Caṇḍī), which can hardly be anybody else than Śiva.

¹⁴¹⁷ ACHARYA 2005: 215.

¹⁴¹⁸ BISSCHOP 2010a: 239.

¹⁴¹⁹ BISSCHOP 2010a: 240–241.

¹⁴²⁰ *Picumata* 83.148.●.

¹⁴²¹ *Skanda-purāṇa* *Āvantiyakhaṇḍa* 16.2–4●.

¹⁴²² *Kathāsaritsāgara* 12.35.7.●.

¹⁴²³ *Skanda-purāṇa* 167.126–129●.

*veśyās tvatto nakha-pada-sukhān prāpya varṣ^āgra-bindūn
āmoksyanti tvayi madhukara-śreṇi-dīrghān kaṭākṣān||*¹⁴²⁴

Even if, o cloud, you reach Mahākāla at some other time of day, you must stay there until the Sun comes into view. Playing the praiseworthy part of the drum in Śiva's morning worship, you shall reap in full the reward for your rolling thunder.

Belts tinkling as they plant their feet, hands weary from daintily waving fly whisks with handles encrusted in lustrous gems, the dancing girls there, on receiving from you the first drops of rain to soothe their scratches, will throw you side glances as long as a line of bees.¹⁴²⁵

Although the great poet, apparently, sets out a kind of religious ceremony, it is the courtesans (*veśyā*) who perform it. Thus, this verse is often celebrated as one of the first occurrences of the famous cult of the temple prostitutes (*devadāsī*),¹⁴²⁶ the regional popularity of which the *Kuvalayamālā* also attests.¹⁴²⁷ About this thinking, however, I am not completely convinced and I rather prefer Goodall's standpoint directing attention to the fact that it was Vallabhadeva, who recognised the courtesans of the *Meghadūta* as sacred ones,¹⁴²⁸ while Kālidāsa did not specify their status.¹⁴²⁹ In this way, the verse does not do more than describing Ujjayinī as a place where even the holiest shrine is maintained by the prostitutes, and thus sustains the amorous atmosphere surrounding the town.

After their performance, the great deity, Śiva himself comes into sight as a dancer:

*paścād uccair bhuja-taru-vanaṃ maṇḍalen'ābhilīnaḥ
sāṃdhyam tejah pratīna-japā-puṣpa-raktaṃ dadhānaḥ|
nṛtt^ārambhe hara Paśupater ādra-nāg^ājin^ēcchām
śānt^ōdvega-stimita-nayanam drṣṭa-bhaktir Bhavānyā||*¹⁴³⁰

Next, at the start of Paśupati's dance, remove his desire for a moist elephant skin by wrapping yourself around the tall forest of his tree-like arms and taking on the dusky red glow of a fresh china rose. Her eyes stilled by alleviation of her anxiety, Bhavānī will behold your devotion.¹⁴³¹

¹⁴²⁴ *Meghadūta* 34–35.

¹⁴²⁵ MALLINSON 2006: 45.

¹⁴²⁶ KERSENBOOM 2013: 717.

¹⁴²⁷ *Kuvalayamālā* 97. p. 50. l. 5–6•.

¹⁴²⁸ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 35•.

¹⁴²⁹ GOODALL 2018: 96.

¹⁴³⁰ *Meghadūta* 36.

¹⁴³¹ MALLINSON 2006: 45.

He covets the bloody elephant skin, for which his dance is famous. Therefore, the cloud is asked here to fulfil this wish, which it performs taking the form of the elephant skin, on which the red hibiscus flowers look like blood drops. Pārvatī (Bhavānī) also becomes visible, watching the effort of the emerging elephant-like cloud with relieved and calm eyes.

Concerning the interpretation of the verse, the explanation of Pārvatī's behaviour divides the commentators. As usual, Vallabhadeva had the most unique opinion, since he was the only one who did not suppose any relationship between Pārvatī's anxiety and the bloody elephant skin. Instead, he claimed that Pārvatī was frightened of the drum-like thunder of the previous verse, but she calmed down soon, because no flash of lightning followed it. In this way, Vallabhadeva suggested that there was causality in the compound, which indicated that Pārvatī's eyes first got rid of fear (*śānt^ôdvega*) and then became calm (*stimita*).¹⁴³² Incidentally, Mallinātha also agreed with this analysis, nevertheless, he regarded the elephant skin-shaped cloud as the cause of Pārvatī's fear.¹⁴³³ The striking weakness of his standpoint is evidently that he did not give any explanation for why Pārvatī became suddenly calm if the cloud did not finish to imitate the fearful skin loathed by her.

Another South-Indian scholar, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha tried to give an answer to this problem. In his opinion, Pārvatī was happy that she did not have to watch the elephant skin, because it was the cloud now, which waited on the dance of his husband.¹⁴³⁴

Apart from them, Pūrṇasarasvatī also had an individual idea, which was mainly inspired by him reading *śānt^ôdvegaḥ stimita-nayanam* in the place of the previous *śānt^ôdvega-stimita-nayanam*. This variant alters the meaning of the verse, because, in this case, the compound *śānt^ôdvega* characterises the cloud instead of Pārvatī's activity. Thus, Pūrṇasarasvatī claimed that the cloud overcame fear when it saw Śiva.¹⁴³⁵

In connection with this verse, beyond the commentaries, the later South-Indian works on iconography such as the *Aṃśumadbhedāgama* (prior to the fifteenth century) and the *Śilparatna* (sixteenth century)¹⁴³⁶ seem relevant, since their prescriptions about Śiva's *Gajāsurasamhāramūrtis* – according to which the sculpture of the dancing Śiva dressed in elephant skin garment should be attended by the figure of the anxious Pārvatī¹⁴³⁷ – apparently corresponds to Kālidāsa's description. In this way, it seems that

¹⁴³² VALLABHADEVA comm. ad MD 36.●.

¹⁴³³ MALLINĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.38.●.

¹⁴³⁴ DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.36.●.

¹⁴³⁵ PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad MD 1.36.●.

¹⁴³⁶ KRAMRISCH 1946: 269.n.

¹⁴³⁷ *Aṃśumadbhedāgama* 70. cited by RAO 1916: App. B p. 77.●; *Śilparatna* 2.22.112.cd●.

both this verse of the *Meghadūta* and the iconographical textbooks may depend on the same legend, which is Śiva's triumph over the elephant demon (*gajāśura*).

However, neither the epics nor the *purāṇas* share too much about this event. Some of them, for example, attribute the killing of this demon to other minor deities instead of Śiva. The *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* reports Gaṇeśa's victory,¹⁴³⁸ while the *Varāha-purāṇa* ascribes the heroic deed to Vīrabhadra, who transforming into a lion destroyed the elephant-formed demon and offered his hide to Śiva.¹⁴³⁹ Although the *Matsya-purāṇa* already praises Śiva as the destroyer of the *gajāśura*,¹⁴⁴⁰ it, in parallel, relates another story according to which one of Śiva's ten *rudras*, Kapālin killed the demon and put on his skin.¹⁴⁴¹ A similar version of the story, as an origin-myth of the *Kṛttivāseśvara-līṅga* of Benares is found in the *Kūrma-purāṇa* as well, which, on the contrary, relates the killing of the demon to Śiva.¹⁴⁴² Although these sources have different versions of the *gajāśura* legend, Pārvatī's absence is common in all of them. Perhaps this can explain Vallabhadeva's standpoint, who being familiar with the Sanskrit works did not recognise any connection between the elephant skin and Pārvatī.

However, this is not true for the South-Indian commentators, in whose homeland the above-mentioned iconographical works and many sculptural representations of the *gajāśura*-episode arose,¹⁴⁴³ and who, unlike Vallabhadeva, may have been acquainted not only with the fundamental Sanskrit works, but also with the local, Dravidian tradition.

In this way, if we take into consideration the early Tamil works, we will encounter an additional version of the *gajāśura*-legend among the most popular myths of the *Tevāram*. According to this version, the elephant-formed demon attacked not only Śiva, but Pārvatī also.¹⁴⁴⁴ Furthermore, just as the iconographical works, the *Tevāram* refers to Pārvatī's fright in the same way, the cause of which is, nevertheless, not obvious. Ārūrar, one of the mystic poets, for example, gave various reasons for it in his several poems. Once, he mentioned that Śiva desired to see the frightened face of his wife and therefore he flayed the elephant; while at other times he referred to either the attack of the demon or the horrible form of the fighting Śiva as the cause of Pārvatī's legendary beautiful fright.¹⁴⁴⁵

¹⁴³⁸ *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* 3.27.98–102.

¹⁴³⁹ *Varāha-purāṇa* 27.15–18.

¹⁴⁴⁰ *Matsya-purāṇa* 55.16.cd•.

¹⁴⁴¹ *Matsya-purāṇa* 153.29–53.

¹⁴⁴² *Kūrma-purāṇa* 1.30.16–18.

¹⁴⁴³ The *Gajāśurasamhāramūrti* was a quite popular theme in the Pallava and the Coḷa sculpture. (PETERSON 2007: 99.n.).

¹⁴⁴⁴ PETERSON 2007: 347.

¹⁴⁴⁵ DORAI RANGASWAMY 1958: 350.

Thus, the apparent resemblance between Kālidāsa's verse and the Tamil poems, beyond the description of the Pāṇḍya king,¹⁴⁴⁶ seems an additional argument for the great poet having been more or less versed in the Tamil tradition as well.

On the other hand, the fact, that Śiva was dancing in the Mahākāla temple, called Mahākāla's dance in the *Harivaṃśa* to Granoff's mind.¹⁴⁴⁷ According to this text, those women, who want children, should imitate the fierce dance performed by Mahākāla.¹⁴⁴⁸ In the *Meghadūta*, however, the multitude of the *veśyās* (courtesans) appear dancing in the presence of the deity, for whom such a grace would be futile, since pregnancy would put an end to the career of the courtesans. Therefore, Kālidāsa's verse only says that the dance was an important element of Śiva's worship. Another example is found for this in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in which Rāvaṇa danced around the *liṅga* after the flower-oblation.¹⁴⁴⁹

Subsequent to the short Mahākāla episode, there are two verses concluding the description of Ujjayinī:

*gacchantīnām ramana-vasatīm yoṣitām tatra <Ujjayinyām> naktam
ruddh^āloke narapati-pathe sūci-bhedyais tamobhiḥ|
saudāminyā kanaka-nikaṣa-snigdhayā darsay'ōrvīm
toy^ōtsarga-stanita-mukharo mā sma bhūr viklavās tāḥ||
tām kasyām-cid bhavana-valabhau supta-pārāvatāyām
nitvā rātriṃ cira-vilasanāt khinna-vidyut-kalatraḥ|
dṛṣṭe sūrye punar api bhavān vāhayed adhva-śeṣam
mandāyante na khalu suhr̥dām abhyupet^ārtha-kṛtyāḥ||¹⁴⁵⁰*

At night, when the royal highway there is obscured in pitch darkness, show the way to the women going to their lovers' houses with lightning lovely as a golden streak across a touchstone. But don't be noisy with your downpours and thunder – they are nervous!

You should pass the night on some rooftop where pigeons sleep, your wife lightning exhausted from her long lovemaking/display, before continuing with your journey when the Sun appears again. They do not dawdle who have promised to help their friends.¹⁴⁵¹

In the blink of an eye, without any connecting verses, the fiction within the fiction about the ritual at the shrine ceases, and we find ourselves in that quarter of the city again, where the *yakṣa* suggested the cloud to spend the night. This sense of the verse

¹⁴⁴⁶ See p. 42–45 for further discussion.

¹⁴⁴⁷ GRANOFF 2003: 109.

¹⁴⁴⁸ *Harivaṃśa* 112.120.●.

¹⁴⁴⁹ *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.31.39–40●.

¹⁴⁵⁰ *Meghadūta* 37–38.

¹⁴⁵¹ MALLINSON 2006: 47.

is mainly implied by the word *tatra* occurring in its first *pāda*, which, in this way, corresponds to that initial *yatra* that introduces the whole Ujjayinī scene. Beyond that, the repetition of the syntagma occurring in the previous verse such as *rātriṃ nītvā, bhavana-, khinna-*, likewise seems to establish that both the introductory and the concluding verses of the description depict the same place and the same night.

Although we return, in this way, to the former palace district, Kālidāsa represents the progress of time. During our imaginary journey to the Mahākāla, evening has fallen in the city. The peacocks finish their dance and sleeping pigeons (*pārāvata*) take up their former place in the image. The women, on the other hand, revive as soon as the darkness expands. Previously, their presence was inferred from some traces such as the aromatic smoke for their hair and their reddish footprints, but now they are revealed to be going to secret meetings with their lovers. The cloud is asked to light the path with its lightning for them, but not to make sound. Thus, the cloud comes to rest here before setting off on the second part of the road.

Vidiśā

Vidiśā, the capital of Daśārṇa (the north-eastern plateau of modern Mālva)¹⁴⁵² appears in three different roles in Kālidāsa's works. First, there is only one reference to it in the *Raghuvamśa*. According to it, Śatrughna, the head of the country centred on Mathurā entrusted his capital to his son, Subāhu, while his second son, Śatrughātīn inherited Vidiśā, which may have served as a secondary seat of the local government:

Śatrughātīni Śatrughnaḥ Subāhu ca bahu-śrute|
*Mathurā-Vidiśe sūnvor nidadhe pūrvaj^ôtsukaḥ||*¹⁴⁵³

Being anxious to join his eldest brother, Śatrughna bestowed the sovereignty of Mathurā and Vidiśā on his two sons named Śatrughātīn and Subāhu of great learning.¹⁴⁵⁴

However, neither Kālidāsa nor his probable source, the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁴⁵⁵ detail Śatrughna's relationship to Vidiśā. Thus, it only seems certain that Vidiśā was somehow counterpart of Mathurā, even though their exact relationship is unrevealed.

In Rāma's empire, Śatrughna serves as the guardian of the South, which suggests that Mathurā and Vidiśā, though they were royal courts, may have been on the edge

¹⁴⁵² JAIN 1972: 17.

¹⁴⁵³ *Raghuvamśa* 15.36.

¹⁴⁵⁴ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 473.

¹⁴⁵⁵ *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.98.9.●.

of the civilised world in the epic period. This is, moreover, affirmed by the fact that Rāma's brother delivered the region from evil powers, namely Lavaṇa's rule.¹⁴⁵⁶ This kind of geo-political character of the town, incidentally, echoes the situation after Samudra Gupta's conquest, when Vidiśā may have formed the most important stronghold against the neighbouring domain of the Śaka *kṣatrapas*.¹⁴⁵⁷

Although the *Raghuvamśa*, in this way, does not deny the political importance of Vidiśā, this becomes doubtlessly apparent in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. This drama seems unique in Kālidāsa's oeuvre because it takes its topic from the events of the historical past instead of the mythological tradition. Agnimitra, the son of the great dynasty founder, Puśyamitra Śuṅga (i. e. Puṣpamitra) appears as the hero of the drama, whom Kālidāsa praises as the chief of Vidiśā. On the other hand, he is somehow subordinated to his father governing the whole empire from Pāṭaliputra:

*yajña-śaraṇāt senā-patiḥ Puṣpamitro Vaidiśa-sthaṃ putram āyusmantam Agnimitraṃ snehāt pariṣvajy'ānudarśayati*¹⁴⁵⁸

General Puṣpamitra sends his fond embrace from the sacrificial hut to his son Agnimitra (may his life be long) in the land of Vidiśā, and informs him...¹⁴⁵⁹

From this view Vidiśā looks like a kind of ducal centre. This role is not unimaginable in the Śuṅga state with regard to the archaeological findings of the area.¹⁴⁶⁰ However, there are some additional allusions to the political diversification of Vidarbha and the presence of the historical Nāgas at Vidiśā in the drama, which make Hans Bakker's supposition quite probable that the *Mālavikāgnimitra* mirrors the contemporary political stage rather than that of the Śuṅga period.¹⁴⁶¹

In his conclusion, Bakker called Vidiśā "the theatre of broken dreams" because, in his point of view, the viceroys of the area, though they may have been appointed heirs of the imperial throne, were ordinarily fallen in the wars of succession.¹⁴⁶² In the case

¹⁴⁵⁶ According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (7.52.1–62.14), there was a noble *asura* called Madhu in the *Kṛta yuga*. He was so virtuous that Śiva presented him with an invincible spear. After his death, however, his wicked son, Lavaṇa inherited this weapon and started a terrible destruction with its help in the valley of the Yamunā. The territorial sages asked for Rāma's help, who sent his brother, Śatrughna to kill the demon. Because Śiva's gift guaranteed unconquerable power to Lavaṇa, Śatrughna attacked him unexpectedly, when his magic weapon was not with him. In this way, Rāma's brother killed the demon and founded Mathurā in the place of the former demonic kingdom.

¹⁴⁵⁷ BAKKER 2006: 166–167.

¹⁴⁵⁸ *Mālavikāgnimitra* 5.149. p. 198.

¹⁴⁵⁹ BALOGH – SOMOGYI 2009: 199.

¹⁴⁶⁰ STADTNER 1975: 101–102.

¹⁴⁶¹ BAKKER 2006: 175–177.

¹⁴⁶² BAKKER 2006: 181.

of Rāma Gupta, Samudra Gupta's elder son, Bakker's idea about the viceroyalty at Vidiśā seems quite convincing,¹⁴⁶³ however, it is difficult to imagine that the annexation of the country of the Śaka *kṣatrapas* would not have lessened its importance.

With regard to the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, it seems that the court of Vidiśā may not have been as esteemed an office as it could have been under Rāma Gupta. The drama reports that the relationship between Agnimitra and Puṣpamitra was not free from conflicts. His succession to the imperial throne, therefore, does not seem unquestionable. We are informed at the end of the story that Agnimitra was angry with his father:

*tad idānīm a-kāla-hīnaṃ vigata-roṣa-cetasā bhavatā vadhū-janena saha yajña-sevanāy'āgan-tavyam iti*¹⁴⁶⁴

Please come therefore without delay, emptying your mind of anger, accompanied by your wives, to attend to the sacrifice.¹⁴⁶⁵

Although the reason for their conflict is not revealed, it at least seems probable that the emperor favoured his grandson, Vasumitra against Agnimitra. When the emperor intended to perform *āśvamedha*, he appointed Vasumitra instead of his son to take care of the sacrificial horse.¹⁴⁶⁶ This office, in accordance with Dilīpa's *āśvamedha* related in the *Raghuvamśa*,¹⁴⁶⁷ was a typical duty of the heir apparent. In this case, Puṣpamitra's words to his son have special importance: he compares himself to the legendary king, Sagara, whose sacrificial horse, in the same way, was guarded by his grandson, Aṃśumat:

*so 'ham <Puṣpamitraḥ> idānīm Aṃśumat'ēva Sagaraḥ pautreṇa pratyāhṛt^āśvo yaksye*¹⁴⁶⁸

So now that my grandson has returned my horse just as Aṃśumat had returned Sagara's, I shall perform the sacrifice.¹⁴⁶⁹

Touching on this myth, Agnimitra should correspond to Sagara's evil son, Asamañja, who was banished from the capital because of his misconduct and instead of whom his son, Aṃśumat ascended the throne.¹⁴⁷⁰

To sum up, it seems that the appointment of Agnimitra as a governor on an outer edge of the empire can rather serve his exclusion from the succession than his straight

¹⁴⁶³ BAKKER 2006: 169–170.

¹⁴⁶⁴ *Mālavikāgnimitra* 5.154. p. 198.

¹⁴⁶⁵ BALOGH – SOMOGYI 2009: 199.

¹⁴⁶⁶ *Mālavikāgnimitra* 5.149. p. 198.

¹⁴⁶⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 3.35–38.

¹⁴⁶⁸ *Mālavikāgnimitra* 5.154. p. 198.

¹⁴⁶⁹ BALOGH – SOMOGYI 2009: 199.

¹⁴⁷⁰ *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.37.16–38.6.

way to the imperial throne. If Govinda Gupta and Ghaṭotkaca Gupta had really been viceroys there, as Bakker proposed,¹⁴⁷¹ their dreams might have already been broken before their arrival at Vidiśā.

In this way, it is, perhaps, a more or less ironic image, which is produced about Agnimitra's court. Although the lord of Vidiśā is surrounded by great pomp and possesses royal titles such as *deva* and *rājan*, he is, nevertheless, subordinated to one, who is simply called *senāpati*.¹⁴⁷² On the other hand, Agnimitra behaves like a typical bad king. He is always engaged in his love affairs, while his son, Vasumitra being a brilliant general is actually of use to the empire:

*tataḥ parān parājitya Vasumitreṇa dhanvinā
prasahya hriyamāṇo me vāji-rājo nivartitaḥ*||¹⁴⁷³

Vasumitra then grabbed his bow, defeated the foe, and brought back the royal horse that they were dragging away.¹⁴⁷⁴

Finally, the *Meghadūta*, though it presents a lovely picture about the place, it does not support much that Vidiśā would have played that key role, which it may have had before the fall of the *kṣatrapas*. In this work, its fame is fairly overshadowed by the neighbouring Ujjayinī, where the former joys of Vidiśā become more intensely represented.

Kālidāsa's strategy to introduce the town is the same as we have come across in the case of Ujjayinī. His first verse concentrates on Daśārṇa, the whole region headed by Vidiśā:

*pāṇḍu-cchāyāḥ opavana-vṛtayaḥ ketakaiḥ sūci-bhinnair
nīdārambhair grha-bali-bhujām ākula-grāma-caityāḥ
tvayy āsanne phala-pariṇati-śyāma-jambū-vanāntāḥ
saṃpatsyante katipaya-dina-sthāyi-hamsā Daśārṇāḥ*||¹⁴⁷⁵

When you draw near to the country of Daśārṇa, its garden hedges will turn white with open-tipped *ketaka* buds, the sacred trees in its villages will be busy with the nest-building of crows who live off the household offerings, the forests of rose-apple on its outskirts will darken with ripe fruit and the flamingos will stay for a few days.¹⁴⁷⁶

¹⁴⁷¹ BAKKER 2006: 170–174.

¹⁴⁷² *Mālavikāgnimitra* 5.146. p. 196.

¹⁴⁷³ *Mālavikāgnimitra* 5.152. p. 198.

¹⁴⁷⁴ BALOGH – SOMOGYI 2009: 199.

¹⁴⁷⁵ *Meghadūta* 23.

¹⁴⁷⁶ MALLINSON 2006: 37.

The arrival of the raincloud brings about dynamical changes here. First, whitish buds sprout on the *ketaka* trees, which are subsequently complemented by the darkness of the ripening *jambū* fruits. The same colours characterise the birds of the verse too, in the case of which the black crows are followed by white geese.

Beyond this contrast of dark and light, the state of temporariness characterises the verse, since every happening reported here is in progress. The *ketaka* flowers are just slightly opened,¹⁴⁷⁷ while the crows are involved in nesting.¹⁴⁷⁸ Thus, the first line of the verse correlates somehow with the origination.

To this, the theme of the leaving joins, which is presented by the appearance of the *jambū* trees and the geese. The *jambū* fruits are fully grown and therefore they are close to their ends. This is inferred not only from their dark colour, but also from the fact that they ripen during the hot summer.¹⁴⁷⁹ This season precedes the monsoon serving as the time of the poem. On the other hand, the geese moving northward spend just a couple of days here. Vallabhadeva remarked in connection with this that the birds realised the coming of the rainy season from the appearance of the cloud, and therefore, planned to depart.¹⁴⁸⁰ Besides Vallabhadeva, Parameśvara was intent on illuminating this problem. According to him, their reaction for the appearing cloud was unusual, since they stayed for a while in the country in spite of the coming monsoon, because they felt a distinct affection for the *jambū* fruits.¹⁴⁸¹

Following the introduction of Daśārṇa, its capital, Vidiśā comes into sight:

teṣāṃ dikṣu prathita-Vidiśā-lakṣaṇāṃ rājadhānīm
gatvā sadyaḥ phalam a-vi-kalaṃ kāmukatvasya labdhā
tīr^ôpānta-stanita-su-bhagaṃ pāsyasi svādu yat tat
sa-bhrū-bhaṅgaṃ mukham iva payo Vetravatyās cal^ormi||
Nīcāir ākhyam girim adhivases tatra viśrāma-hetos
tvat-samparkāt pulakitam eva praudha-puṣpaiḥ kadambaiḥ
yaḥ paṇyastri-rati-parimal^ôdgāribhir nāgarāṇām
uddāmāni prathayati śilā-veśmabhir yauvanāni||¹⁴⁸²

¹⁴⁷⁷ DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.23.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.23.●; PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad MD 1.23.●; PŪRṆASARAVATĪ comm. ad MD 1.23.● – Unlike them, Vallabhadeva maintained that the expression *sūci-bhinna*, in fact, typified the special manner of the blossoming of the *ketaka* flowers. (VALLABHADEVA comm. ad MD 23.●).

¹⁴⁷⁸ DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.23.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.23.●; PŪRṆASARAVATĪ comm. ad MD 1.23.●; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad MD 23.●.

¹⁴⁷⁹ DYMCK – WARDEN – HOOPER 1891: 25.

¹⁴⁸⁰ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad MD 23.●.

¹⁴⁸¹ PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad MD 1.23.●.

¹⁴⁸² *Meghadūta* 24–25.

The name of its capital, Vidiśā, is famous everywhere. Immediately upon reaching there, you will obtain in full the reward of being a lover: you shall drink Vetravatī's delicious waters. Your thundering near her banks will have enriched them, and in their ripples her face will seem to frown.

You should stop to rest there on the mountain called Nīcais. When its *kadamba* trees thrust forth their flowers, it will seem as if the mountain's hair is thrilling at your touch, and with its grottoes pouring forth fragrances used by courtesans for lovemaking, it proclaims the brazen youth of the citizens.¹⁴⁸³

Kālidāsa personifies the town as a lovely woman who greets the arriving guest. In this image, the local river, the Vetravatī (modern Betvā)¹⁴⁸⁴ forms her face, while the flowering *kadamba*-trees on the Nīcaiḥ hill represent the erected hair of her body. This latter spot, on the other hand, proclaims the unlimited youthfulness of the citizens functioning as such a place, where local prostitutes receive the pleasure seekers in their grottos and where the cloud also takes a rest for a moment.

On the subject of the pleasure cavities of the Nīcaiḥ hill, the commentators are of two opposing opinions. Because some of them pay no special attention to the unusualness of the places of lovemaking,¹⁴⁸⁵ it seems that the whole location served as a kind of red-light district. Parameśvara, moreover, added that this hill was well-known from the travellers,¹⁴⁸⁶ while Pūrṇasarasvatī claimed that the verse alluded, in this way, to the wealth of the locals, otherwise their youthfulness could not have been fruitful.¹⁴⁸⁷ Actually, the fact, that the caves were, sometimes, used as brothels, seems quite possible considering Ibolya Tóth's recent dissertation, in which she argued convincingly that the mysterious caves of Sītābeṅgā served a similar purpose.¹⁴⁸⁸

Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and Mallinātha, on the other hand, considered this usage of the caves less imaginable. Both of them regarded the Nīcaiḥ hill as a place where secret trysts happened.¹⁴⁸⁹ From this, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha concluded that the people of Vidiśā may have been extremely handsome, because even the courtesans left their office to make love with them secretly.¹⁴⁹⁰

Besides the classical interpreters, the modern scholars also showed special curiosity regarding the place and they were keen on determining it geographically. Perhaps, Mi-

¹⁴⁸³ MALLINSON 2006: 37–39.

¹⁴⁸⁴ DEY 1979: 30.

¹⁴⁸⁵ VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 25.●.

¹⁴⁸⁶ PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad *MD* 1.25.●.

¹⁴⁸⁷ PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.25.●.

¹⁴⁸⁸ TÓTH 2016: 28.

¹⁴⁸⁹ DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.24.●; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.25.●.

¹⁴⁹⁰ DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.25.●.

rashi was the first, who put forward that the hillock was, in fact, Udayagiri.¹⁴⁹¹ With regard to this identification, Michael Willis maintained that it looked as if Kālidāsa had denigrated the Vaiṣṇava site, when he named it *nīcaīḥ* (“low”).¹⁴⁹² On the other hand, Willis also drew attention to the fact that the widely used dictionaries knew the hill under the name of Vāmanagiri,¹⁴⁹³ which could be an allusion to the Viṣṇupada cult of Udayagiri.¹⁴⁹⁴

However, I find it less probable that Kālidāsa’s amorous picture of the hill would have corresponded to the sacred centre of the Guptas. Although it is true, that the so-called sacred prostitution belonged to temples or places of pilgrimage,¹⁴⁹⁵ as we have seen it in the case of Ujjayinī, it is not likely here, since Kālidāsa speaks about *paṇyāstrīs*, a lower class of courtesans, whose favour everybody can buy with money.¹⁴⁹⁶

On the other hand, the mention of the *paṇyāstrīs*, perhaps, introduces the visit of Ujjayinī. In the beginning of the description, the *yakṣa* praises the town as a place, where the cloud will receive the complete fruit of being a lover (*phalam a-vi-kalam kāmukatvasya labdhā*).¹⁴⁹⁷ However, because there were only *paṇyāstrīs* in Vidiśā, the *yakṣa* modifies his former assertion and offers to visit Ujjayinī, otherwise the cloud would remain cheated.¹⁴⁹⁸

Mathurā

In Kālidāsa’s *Raghuvamśa*, there are two occurrences of Kṛṣṇa’s birthplace, Mathurā. As we have seen it in connection with Vidiśā, the great poet retells the so-called *Lavaṇa-kathā* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,¹⁴⁹⁹ an episode ending with the foundation of Mathurā:

upakūlam sa <Śatrughnaḥ> Kālindiyāḥ purim pauruṣa-bhūṣaṇaḥ|
nirmame nirmamo ’rtheṣu Mathurāṁ madhur^ākṛtiḥ||
yā saurājya-prakāśābhīr babhau paura-vibhūtibhiḥ|
*svarg^ābhīsyanda-vamanam kṛtv’ēv’ōpaniveśitā||*¹⁵⁰⁰

¹⁴⁹¹ MIRASHI 1960: 13.

¹⁴⁹² WILLIS 2009: 75.

¹⁴⁹³ BÖHTLINGK 1865: 283; MONIER-WILLIAMS 2012: 565.

¹⁴⁹⁴ WILLIS 2009: 75.

¹⁴⁹⁵ WESTRA 2012: 19.

¹⁴⁹⁶ BHATTACHARJĠ 1987: 33.

¹⁴⁹⁷ *Meghadūta* 24.b.

¹⁴⁹⁸ *Meghadūta* 27. (See p. 219.).

¹⁴⁹⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 15.2–30; *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.52.1–62.14.

¹⁵⁰⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 15.28–29.

Śatrughna of amiable appearance indifferent to worldly possession, whose valour was his ornament, built a city named Mathurā on the bank of the Kālindī.

On account of the prosperity of the citizens caused by his benign rule, the city looked like a colony planted with the surplus population of heaven.¹⁵⁰¹

Besides, there is a more detailed description about the place in the sixth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*. This maintains that the lord of Śūrasena, the country centred on Mathurā was among the participants at Indumatī's *svayaṃvara*.¹⁵⁰² Concerning this latter claim, however, it is unavoidable to encounter the problem of Kālidāsa's anachronism here.

Touching on it, Hemādri put forward that it was not proper to regard Suṣeṇa's Mathurā as forerunner of Śatrughna's.¹⁵⁰³ Vaidyaśrīgarbha, on the other hand, had a different thought, and offered that Śatrughna, in reality, did not found a new town, but he only rebuilt it after Lavaṇa's destruction.¹⁵⁰⁴ Although this view makes more sense, both the *Raghuvamśa*¹⁵⁰⁵ and the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁵⁰⁶ voice firmly that Śatrughna was the founder of Mathurā.

In this way, the distinct role of the Rāma-story in the *Raghuvamśa* seems to give an acceptable explanation. Kālidāsa's résumé is based on the plot of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, as much as it adopts its geography.¹⁵⁰⁷ This, however, conveys contradictions, since other parts of the *Raghuvamśa*, as we have seen earlier, reflect Kālidāsa's contemporary age.

After the discussion of the anachronism, we should turn to the introduction of the king of Śūrasena at Indumatī's *svayaṃvara*:

sā <Indumatī> Śūrasen^ādhīpatiṃ Suṣeṇam uddiśya lok^āntara-gīta-kīrtim|
 ācāra-śuddh^ābhaya-vamśa-dīpaṃ śuddhānta-rakṣyā jagade kumārī||
 Nīp^ānvayaḥ pāṛthiva eṣa yajvā guṇair yam āśritya paraspareṇa|
 naisargiko 'py utsarje virodhaḥ siddh^āśramam śāntam iv'aitya sattvair||¹⁵⁰⁸

Whereupon the keeper of the harem spoke to that maiden princess with reference to Suṣeṇa, the lord of the Śūrasenas, whose fame was sung even in the next world, and who by his conduct became the light (or ornament) of both of the pure lines (paternal and maternal).

¹⁵⁰¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 470–471.

¹⁵⁰² *Raghuvamśa* 6.45–52.

¹⁵⁰³ HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 6.48. •.

¹⁵⁰⁴ VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* 15.28. cited by GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: 392. •.

¹⁵⁰⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 15.28.

¹⁵⁰⁶ *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.62.4–14.

¹⁵⁰⁷ RUBEN 1957: 577–589.

¹⁵⁰⁸ *Raghuvamśa* 6.45–46.

This king, a performer of sacrificial ceremonies, is sprung from the race of the Nīpas; having taken refuge in him even the natural opposition to each other has been given up by the qualities; as by the beasts of forest on reaching a hermit's peaceful dwelling.¹⁵⁰⁹

Because Mathurā is strongly influenced by Kṛṣṇa and the Yādavas, one may find it a bit unusual that its chief called Suṣeṇa is introduced as a descendant of the Nīpa family. However, Kālidāsa's disinterest with the Vṛṣṇi heroes works only on the surface. In fact, the scene of the Kṛṣṇa-cycle shapes the structure of the description:

<Suṣeṇasya> yasy'ātma-dehe nayan^ābhirāmā kāntir him^āmsor iva sanniviṣṭā|
 harṇy^āgra-saṃrūḍha-trṇ^āṅkureṣu tejo 'viṣahyaṃ ripu-mandireṣu||
 yasy'avarodha-stana-candanānām prakṣālanād vāri-vihāra-kāle|
 Kalinda-kanyā Mathurā-gat'āpi Gaṅg^ormi-sampṛkta-jal'ēva bhātī||
 trātena Tārksyāt kila Kāliyena maṇiṃ viṣṛṣṭaṃ Yamun^aukasā yaḥ <Suṣeṇaḥ>|
 vakṣaḥ-sthala-vyāpi-rucaṃ dadhānaḥ sa-kaustubhaṃ hreṇyat'iva Kṛṣṇam||¹⁵¹⁰

His graceful loveliness in his own body becomes delightful to the eyes like that of the cool-rayed Moon, but his unbearable energy of valour is seen in the cities of his enemies, where the tops of mansions are over-grown with grassy-blades.

By the washing of the sandal paste on the bosoms of the females of his inner-apartment at the time of sporting in the water, the daughter of Kalinda, though flowing by Mathurā, appears to have mixed her waters with the ripples of the Gaṅgā.

They say that he puts Kṛṣṇa to shame along with his *Kaustubha* by his wearing a diamond, the lustre of which covers the surface of his chest, and which had been given to him by the snake Kāliya, whose abode was the river Yamunā and who was protected from Garuḍa. (transl. with modifications)¹⁵¹¹

Each of these places of Kṛṣṇa's childhood are associated with the contrast between dark and light colours. This consists of three verses, which are, one by one, connected to the opening verse by relative pronouns. First, Suṣeṇa's energy is introduced. It behaves as if the moonlight were in his body despite that it is unbearable in the abodes of his enemies. After that, his many odalisques come into sight. They enjoy the bath in the dark-coloured Yamunā (Kāṇḍī-kanyā), and their multitude is so great that the whitish sandal washed away from their breasts takes the shape of the Ganges. Finally, the

¹⁵⁰⁹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 173–174.

¹⁵¹⁰ *Raghuvamśa* 6.47–49.

¹⁵¹¹ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 174–175 – Nandargikar, following Mallinātha, reads °*dehe* instead of °*gehe* in the first *pāda* of the first verse, and translates it as follows: “His graceful loveliness in his own palace...” Apart from it, there is another variant in the third verse, where Nandargikar reads *trātena* in the place of *trastena* and translates it as follows: “...and who was very much afraid of Garuḍa.”.

section is concluded by the mention of the territorial *nāga*, Kāliya, whose jewel exceeded even the *Kaustubha*.

Although the verses, in this way, make obvious allusions only to the occurrent lightness, the darkness, as its complement always seems to be comprehended here. Just the mention of the Moon is enough to make one think of the darkness at night as its necessary supplement. Furthermore, the difference between the colours is confined here not only to the main simile, but it can also characterise the hostile mansions, which being probably whitewashed are darkened by the sprawling grass.

The dark colour of the Yamunā is well-known. Its confluence with the whitish Ganges was among the favoured topics of the poets including Kālidāsa.¹⁵¹² Lastly, since the *kaustubha* is suspended on Kṛṣṇa's breast, it is suggested that Suśeṇa, the possessor of Kāliya's jewel has a similarly dark skin, otherwise it would not be able to compete with its divine counterpart.

Following the description of Suśeṇa's excellence, the series of the relative clauses and the poetic play with the shades disappear and the concluding verses uncover those benefits that Indumatī could enjoy if she chose the king of Mathurā as her husband:

<Sunandā Indumatīm uvāca>

sambhāvya bhartāram amuṃ <Suśeṇam> yuvānaṃ mṛdu-pravāl^ôttara-puṣpa-sayye|
Vṛndāvane Caitrarathād anūne nirviśyatāṃ sundari yauvana-śrīḥ||
adhyāsya c'āmbhaḥ-pṛṣat^ôkṣitāni śaileya-naddhāni śilā-talāni|
*kalāpināṃ prāvṛṣi paśya nṛtaṃ kāntāsu Govardhana-kandarāsu||*¹⁵¹³

For these reasons honour this youthful prince by accepting him for your husband and then you may, o charming princess, enjoy your loveliness of youth on a flowery couch over-spread with tender sprouts, in the gardens of Vṛndāvana not inferior to Caitraratha.

Seated on the plane surface of marble slabs sprinkled with drops of water and fragrant with benzoin, you may look at the dance of peacocks, in the beautiful caves of the mountain Govardhana in the rainy season.¹⁵¹⁴

In this way, the famous Vṛndāvana is revealed as an earthly paradise, which is not inferior to Kubera's grove. In closing, Kālidāsa writes about the Govardhana, the famous peak of the town, where the dancing peacocks make the landscape more pleasant during the rainy season.

¹⁵¹² *Meghadūta* 51; *Raghuvamśa* 13.54–57.

¹⁵¹³ *Raghuvamśa* 6.50–51.

¹⁵¹⁴ NANDARGIKAR 1971: 175–176.

Beyond these obvious references to Mathurā, I would discuss Kālidāsa's report about the famous shrine of Skanda here.¹⁵¹⁵ As Westra rightly remarked, this is one of the mysterious places of the *Meghadūta*, for the identification of which there have been many attempts. Kālidāsa, in fact, does not fix the location of the shrine, he only says that it is situated on a peak, where a deity resides (*deva-pūrvam girim*).¹⁵¹⁶ However, many of the modern scholars have taken this mention as a proper designation, and therefore, they have been intent on finding a place under the name of Devagiri. There have been many towns proposed such as Devaghar (southwest of Jhānsī),¹⁵¹⁷ Devagara (in the centre of Mālava),¹⁵¹⁸ Devagurāḍā (southeast of Indaur)¹⁵¹⁹ and Dev Ḍūngī (close to Ujjayinī)¹⁵²⁰ with the claim to be equivalent of the home of Kālidāsa's Skanda shrine. It is Chakladar's idea, which differs from these a bit. Although etymology also played a key role in his argument, he did not want to find "a new Devagiri", but he offered that it was, in fact, identical with the modern Khāṇḍerā situated on the bank of the river Gambhīrā, because he regarded the name of this place as a modern form of the Sanskrit Skandarāja.¹⁵²¹

On the contrary to these theories, I would care less about etymology, and, instead, I base my point of view purely on the reality that Kālidāsa writes about the centre of the contemporary Skanda-cult here. Taking into consideration only this, it is Sthāṇvīśvara (modern Thānesar), which could come to mind, since it has been widely worshipped as the place of Skanda's consecration since Harṣa's period.¹⁵²² However, Sthāṇvīśvara does not fit, in any case, into the geographical world of the *Meghadūta*, because, according to this text, Skanda's shrine is situated evidently south of Brahmāvarta (Kurukṣetra),¹⁵²³ which would not be possible in the case of Sthāṇvīśvara.

On the other hand, I have noted in a former article that the epic *Sārasvataparvan*,¹⁵²⁴ the oldest remarkable description about the places of pilgrimage along the Sarasvatī reveals that Skanda's consecration (*abhiṣeka*) originally belonged to another place called Somatīrtha, which may have gradually lost its importance in consequence of the rise of Sthāṇvīśvara.¹⁵²⁵ It seems that the place described by Kālidāsa should correspond to the

¹⁵¹⁵ *Meghadūta* 42–45.

¹⁵¹⁶ *Meghadūta* 42.c.

¹⁵¹⁷ KARMARKAR 1971: 57.

¹⁵¹⁸ WILSON 1814: 116.

¹⁵¹⁹ BHANDARKAR 1928: 23–24.

¹⁵²⁰ MIRASHI 1966: 62–64; WESTRA 2012: 25.

¹⁵²¹ CHAKLADAR 1963: 68.

¹⁵²² BAKKER 2014: 161–163.

¹⁵²³ DEY 1979: 40.

¹⁵²⁴ *Mahābhārata* 9.29.1–53.37.

¹⁵²⁵ SZÁLER 2017: 332.

location of the epic Somatīrtha, because there is no other place known with such a strong affinity with Skanda.

The *Sārasvataparvan*, being a strongly contaminated work, is, nevertheless, not very helpful in the topographical identification of Somatīrtha. By all means, it is probable that Prthūdaka¹⁵²⁶ and Sthāṇvīśvara¹⁵²⁷ corresponding to the region of Kurukṣetra¹⁵²⁸ could be secondarily inserted into the text, otherwise the Kurukṣetra occurring later¹⁵²⁹ would be discussed twice in the one list. If we accept this, the Yamunātīrtha¹⁵³⁰ will be revealed in this context as such a place, where the pilgrim coming from Prabhāsa (Saurāṣṭra) through the desert (Maru) reaches first the bank of the Yamunā. Because the above-mentioned Somatīrtha¹⁵³¹ occurs quite close to this place, it is tempting to detect its location here. Furthermore, there is also a good reason for thinking that Somatīrtha is situated north of the confluence of the Yamunā and the Carmaṇvatī, since the *Sārasvataparvan* does not refer to the latter river. In this way, it is the western bank of the upper-Yamunā, which emerges as a possible location for Skanda's consecration.

This area including Mathurā, moreover, played a key role in the development of the cult of Skanda. In Richard Mann's opinion, under the Kushans, the worship of this deity concentrated on two separate centres, Gandhāra and Mathurā, where different aspects of him became important.¹⁵³² Skanda was mostly honoured as a warrior or a *graha* (spirit, which seizes illness) in Mathurā, where he was, regularly, associated with the cult of Mātṛkās.¹⁵³³ On the other hand, in Gandhāra, he may have been revered as a rather military figure, whose main hallmark was his commandership over the divine armies.¹⁵³⁴ After the fall of the Kushans, the importance of this latter aspect started to heighten, while the formerly more popular cult of Mathurā blended into it till the rise of the Guptas.¹⁵³⁵ For this stage, it is difficult to find a better example than the stone relief of Mathurā depicting Skanda's *abhiṣeka*,¹⁵³⁶ since this makes an obvious allusion to the military rank of the deity in that area, where it was previously less widespread. The topic of the consecration serves, therefore, as bridge between the two opposing traditions.¹⁵³⁷ Furthermore, the attempt of the *Sārasvataparvan* to connect this event

¹⁵²⁶ *Mahābhārata* 9.38.21.c–42.38.c.

¹⁵²⁷ *Mahābhārata* 9.42.38.d–46.12.b.

¹⁵²⁸ DEY 1979: 110, 160.

¹⁵²⁹ *Mahābhārata* 9.51.25.c–53.1.b.

¹⁵³⁰ *Mahābhārata* 9.48.10.d–15.

¹⁵³¹ *Mahābhārata* 9.49.65.d–50.2.b.

¹⁵³² MANN 2012: 117.

¹⁵³³ MANN 2012: 121.

¹⁵³⁴ MANN 2012: 123–124.

¹⁵³⁵ MANN 2012: 149.

¹⁵³⁶ MANN 2012: 216, 282.

¹⁵³⁷ MANN 2012: 58–62.

to a concrete geographical place may have been rather needed in a region, where the military rank appeared new. On the other hand, the fact that the relief excavated at Mathurā depicts uniquely Skanda's consecration, is in itself able to make one think that it also happened here.

These references support our attempt to look for the shrine in the vicinity of Mathurā, though it still raises the problem that there is no written source, which would obviously support it. Perhaps, this common want of the textual references can be reasoned by the rise of Sthāṇvīśvara, which may have laid unshared claim to the title of the place of Skanda's consecration from Harṣa's rule.

After all, the final argument for connecting Kālidāsa's verses about Skanda's shrine to Mathurā is provided by the *Meghadūta* itself. Most of the scholars have the same opinion that the geographical location of the several spots between Ujjayinī and Brahmāvarta corresponds to the sequence of the verses describing them.¹⁵³⁸ In this way, the following order of the stations comes about: Gambhīrā (a tribute of the Śīprā),¹⁵³⁹ Skanda's shrine, Carmaṇvatī, Daśapura (modern Mandasaur),¹⁵⁴⁰ Brahmāvarta.

This at once means that the identification of the mysterious mount at Mathurā is untenable, since it is necessarily situated south of the river Carmaṇvatī. However, if we re-read these verses closely, it would not seem baseless to propose that the plot of the poem, just as in the case of Ujjayinī, does not move linearly.

After Ujjayinī, the cloud leaves the course of the Sun and turns again northwards. In this way, it approaches the woman-shaped Gambhīrā, where the idea of the trip to the holy peak occurs:

*tasmin kāle nayana-salilaṃ yoṣitāṃ khaṇḍitānām
 śāntiṃ neyaṃ prañayibhir ato vartma bhānos tyaj'āśu|
 prāley^āśraṃ kamala-vadanāt so 'pi hartuṃ nalinyāḥ
 pratyāvṛttas tvayi kara-rudhi syād an-alp^ābhyaśūyaḥ||
 Gambhīrāyāḥ payasi saritaś cetas'iva prasanne
 chāy^ātm'āpi prakṛti-su-bhago lapsyate te praveśam|
 tasmāt tasyāḥ kumuda-viśadāny arhasi tvaṃ na dhairyaṃ
 moghī-kartuṃ caṭula-śaphar^ôdvartana-prekṣitāni||
 tasyāḥ kiṃ-cit kara-dhṛtam iva prāpta-vānīra-śākhaṃ
 hṛtvā nilaṃ salila-vasanaṃ mukta-rodho-nitambam|
 prasthānaṃ te katham api sakhe lambamānasya bhāvi
 jñāta-svādaḥ pulina-jaghanāṃ ko vihartuṃ samarthab||*

¹⁵³⁸ *Meghadūta* 39–48.

¹⁵³⁹ DEY 1979: 60.

¹⁵⁴⁰ DEY 1979: 54.

*tvan-niṣyand^ôcchvasita-vasudhā-gandha-samparka-punyaḥ
 sroto-randhra-dhvanita-su-bhagaṃ dantibhiḥ pīyamānaḥ|
 nīcair vāsyaty upajigamiṣor deva-pūrvam girim te
 śīto vāyuh pariṇamayitā kānan^ôdumbarāṇām||*¹⁵⁴¹

At that hour, lovers must appease their abandoned wives' watery eyes, so quickly get out of the way of the Sun, for he, too, will be returning to remove a dewy tear from the lotus face of the lily, and if you obstruct his rays/hands he will be not a little annoyed.

You are handsome by nature and, if only in the form of your reflection, shall gain entry into the clear water of the River Gambhīrā as if it were happy heart: you should not be so unfeeling that you make her lily-white glances – the leaps of the darting śaphara fish – come to naught.

Her dark-blue robe, the water, has slipped from her hips, the banks, and reached the reeds as if barely held up in her hands. On removing it, my friend, you will be weighed down and struggle to journey on: who can leave naked thighs after tasting their delights?

Contact with the smell of Earth swollen by your showers has made the cool wind delicious. While elephants drink it in with sweet sounds from their trunk-tips, it will gently blow you the way you want to go – toward Devagiri – and ripen the wild figs.¹⁵⁴²

The cloud is described here as one, whose desire is to visit Skanda's shrine.¹⁵⁴³ Subsequently, Kālidāsa dedicates two verses to introducing this upcoming pilgrimage site:

*tatra <deva-pūrve girau> Skandaṃ niyata-vasatiṃ puṣpa-meghī-kṛt^ātmā
 puṣp^āsāraiḥ snapayatu bhavān vyoma-Gaṅgā-jal^ādrāiḥ|
 rakṣā-hetor nava-śāsi-bhṛtā Vāsavīnām camūnām
 aty-ādityaṃ hutavaha-mukhe sambhṛtaṃ tad dhi tejaḥ||
 jyotir-lekhā-valayī galitaṃ yasya barhaṃ Bhavānī
 putra-prītyā kuvalaya-pada-prāpi karṇe karoti|
 dhaut^āpāṅgaṃ Hara-śāsi-rucā Pāvakes taṃ mayūram
 paścād adri-graḥaṇa-gurubhir garjitair nartayethāḥ||*¹⁵⁴⁴

Skanda has taken up permanent residence there. Turn yourself into a cloud of blossoms and bathe him with showers of flowers wet with the water of the celestial Gaṅgā, for he is that very blazing energy, brighter than the Sun, which Śiva, the bearer of the new moon, cast in the mouth of Agni to protect the armies of Indra.

¹⁵⁴¹ *Meghadūta* 39–42.

¹⁵⁴² MALLINSON 2006: 47–49.

¹⁵⁴³ *Meghadūta* 42.c.

¹⁵⁴⁴ *Meghadūta* 43–44.

Out of love for her son, Bhavānī puts next to the lily in her ear a brightly ringed tail feather fallen from the fire-born god's peacock, whom, the corners of its eyes bathed in light from Śiva's moon, you should now make dance with thunder resounding in the mountain.¹⁵⁴⁵

These verses mainly deal with Skanda, who is revealed here as the patron of the place. First, there is a poetic summary represented about his unusual birth. Kālidāsa attests that the young deity was derived from Śiva's seed (*tejas*), which was unbearable for Agni. The cloud messenger, at this point, comes into the picture, and takes shape of the holy Ganges, which was, incidentally, known as Skanda's second mother from the legends. Finally, because the whole shrine is situated on a peak, the presence of the mountain goddess is also suggested slightly.¹⁵⁴⁶ In this way, she emerges as Skanda's loving mother in the following lines. Here, the previous divine rank of the cloud disappears, and it becomes a special worshipper, who causes Skanda's peacock to dance to achieve thus his favour.

Although the verses, in this way, summarise the main attributes of the deity, there are no clear references attesting that this place would come directly after the Gambhīrā. Quite the contrary, the first instruction informing the further station of the journey is announced after the description of Skanda's shrine, and this refers to the river Carmaṇvatī clarified as Rantideva's immanent glory:

*ārādhy'aivam sara-vaṇa-bhuvam devam ullaṅghit^ādhvā
siddha-dvamdvaṛ jala-kaṇa-bhayād vīṇibhir mukta-mārgaḥ|
vyālabethāḥ Surabhi-tanay^ālambha-jām mānayaṣyan
stroto-mūrtyā bhuvi pariṇatām Rantidevasya kīrtim||*¹⁵⁴⁷

After you, who left your way on your journey [to the North] have in this way finished the worship [there, i. e. at the river Gambhīrā], please spend some time at [the Carmaṇvatī], Rantideva's river-formed glory, which became visible on the Earth as a result of sacrificing

¹⁵⁴⁵ MALLINSON 2006: 51.

¹⁵⁴⁶ According to the *Śalyaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (9.43.6–14), Śiva's seed fell down on the Earth. First, it was Agni, who tried to bear it. However, because it was unendurable for him, Agni entrusted the foetus to Gaṅgā. The river goddess similarly could not do anything and left Śiva's coming child on a peak, where the Kṛttikās brought him up. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, on the other hand, preserves two further versions of the story, which, unlike the previous one, praise, on the one hand, Śiva, Umā and Agni (1.35.6–18), on the other hand, Agni, Gaṅgā, Kṛttikās as Skanda's parents (1.35.19–36.31).

¹⁵⁴⁷ *Meghadūta* 45.

Surabhi's daughters; while the siddha couples playing the lute abandoned your way, because they are afraid of raindrops; and while you are going to worship Skanda.¹⁵⁴⁸

In my interpretation, the future participle (*mānayaṣyan*) alludes to Skanda's previously detailed place of pilgrimage, which at once means that the shrine will come only after the visit of the Carmaṇvatī. After that, the *yakṣa* adds that the cloud should also move through Daśapura,¹⁵⁴⁹ as a result of which, the following order of the stations is silhouetted: Gambhīrā, Carmaṇvatī, Daśapura, Skanda's shrine, Brahmāvarta.

Concerning this list, the association of the shrine with Mathurā seems acceptable. If we keep in mind the boundaries of the historic Brahmāvarta,¹⁵⁵⁰ Mathurā serves as a kind of gate of the area, which role Skanda's shrine undertakes in the *Meghadūta*. In this way, though there is no ultimate proof for the location of the shrine, the above-discussed sources suggest that there is good reason to detect it somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mathurā.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Mallinson understands this verse in a different way: "After worshipping in this way the god born in a reed thicket, journey on a little, your way abandoned by lute-carrying *siddha* couples scared of raindrops, before hanging down to pay your respects to Rantideva's glory, which was born of his sacrifices of Surabhi's daughters and took earthly form as a river." (MALLINSON 2006: 51.).

¹⁵⁴⁹ *Meghadūta* 47.●.

¹⁵⁵⁰ *Manusmṛti* 2.17–19●.

CONCLUDING WORDS

On the mezzo-level, space represented by Kālidāsa differs from the homogeneity that we find in the description about Raghu's *digvijaya*. In the case of the previously detailed foreign countries, as we have seen, the capital Nāgapura, the mount Malaya, and the pepper fields were equally representative of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, while their relationship to each other were not detailed, and they remained out of interest in accordance with the external viewpoint of the poet.

However, when Kālidāsa describes his own civilisation and thus introduces a new, internal perspective, the former homogeneity disappears immediately, and a divergent, heterogeneous order occupies its place. On this level, therefore, the capital Ayodhyā, the mount Himālaya, and Kaṇva's *āśrama* are not only characteristic for Kālidāsa's country, but they are also functional elements, which hold various connotations and serve opposing purposes. The fact that the landmarks of Kālidāsa's civilisation are, in this way, arranged functionally, distinguishes it from the foreign countries. Paradoxically, the homogeneity of these latter places stands for the chaos of the uncivilised world, while the spatial representation of the culture is always heterogeneous.

The presence of this heterogeneity, on the other hand, is enough to deprive space of the former map-like features. Although the images of the *Meghadūta* as well as Rāma's home journey are truly composed from an upper point of view, this is definitely not the objective "God's view", because the narrators' affinity with places is not equal. This, however, does not mean that mythological thinking would be wanted here. Quite the contrary, though Kālidāsa puts various segments of his civilisation on display, the claim to assign a proper place to man is almost always present. Therefore, Kālidāsa's culture can be regarded a mythical place as much as the barbarian countries.

In this case, nevertheless, the central position of man is less obvious. While the spatial representation on the macro-level was really intent on identifying and distinguishing the place of man, the mezzo-level is rather to describe the means by which the previously established homeland works. Thus, the former anthropocentric arrangement of space disappears, and the (*śiṣṭa*) man becomes embedded in the represented place. This, actually, recollects Tuan's second schema representing the mythical place. According to it, instead of the man in the middle of the world, it is the human body itself, which is observed as an image of the cosmos.¹⁵⁵¹ Tuan also adds that this association of the surrounding spatial elements with the human body, namely the object, that the man, in the most essential way, knows, may have originally served the comprehension of the Earth. In his words:

¹⁵⁵¹ TUAN 2001: 88.

“The human body is that part of the material universe we know most intimately. It is not only the condition for experiencing the world but also an accessible object whose properties we can always observe. The human body is a hierarchically organized schema; it is infused with values that are the result of emotion-laden physiological functions and of intimate social experiences.”¹⁵⁵²

Actually, this body-like character of place has two aspects in Kālidāsa’s descriptions. On the one hand, many of his similes are built on the resemblance between the landmarks and the parts of the body. Some of them imagining the Earth as a giant Mother are derived from the common mythological traditions, while others, such as the hairy peaks¹⁵⁵³ and the tooth-formed raindrops¹⁵⁵⁴ might be his own poetic inventions.

On the other hand, perhaps, it is even more characteristic that the scope of the culture as a whole is represented as a vivid organism, of which the king takes care. Although Rajendran put forward that nature had emotions in Kālidāsa’s works,¹⁵⁵⁵ I think that these so-called emotions are rather symptoms. In this way, not only the landmarks imitate parts of the body, but the country itself works as if it were really a human body. If each part is a convenient place, it functions well, otherwise it needs healing. Sometimes it shows its necessities quite obviously, since the environmental changes interact as a kind of immune system. The coming Autumn urges Raghu to perform *digvijaya*,¹⁵⁵⁶ while the decline of Ayodhyā installs Kuśa on the throne.¹⁵⁵⁷

However, the kings are not always able to recognise these slight symptoms in time, as a result, crises arises: Śambūka’s practice causes the death of an innocent boy, Śakuntalā becomes forgotten, and Urvaśī disappears. All of these emergencies can be reasoned by discrepancies in the spatial order. The *Vikramorvaśīya* is the most didactic, because it reports that Urvaśī entered a forbidden place, Skanda’s grove, and therefore she transformed into creeper.¹⁵⁵⁸ The *Abhijñānaśākuntala* elaborates the same idea, since its plot is determined by the mutual disharmony between the characters and the scenes. While the dramas terminate with happy ending, Śambūka’s story¹⁵⁵⁹ points at that such a discrepancy in certain cases that has irreversible consequences.

In the introduction of this part I have quoted Ingalls’s words. I think that he called rightly Kālidāsa’s country “a happy land”. However, after investigating the images

¹⁵⁵² TUAN 2001: 89.

¹⁵⁵³ *Meghadūta* 25.ab (See p. 234–235).

¹⁵⁵⁴ *Raghuvamśa* 5.70.●.

¹⁵⁵⁵ RAJENDRAN 2005: 25.

¹⁵⁵⁶ *Raghuvamśa* 4.24.●.

¹⁵⁵⁷ *Raghuvamśa* 16.4–23.

¹⁵⁵⁸ *Vikramorvaśīya* 4.15. p. 126.●.

¹⁵⁵⁹ *Raghuvamśa* 15.42–53.

about it, we should add that the happiness of this land is easily broken and it depends on a fragile harmony determining the connection between man and his environment.

Kālidāsa and the Home

As we have seen, space, what Kālidāsa represents, is predominantly mythical. On the macro-level, the description of Raghu's *digvijaya* defines the scope of the civilisation, and therefore, it functions like a cosmological work. The images of the country, on the other hand, sketch out the functioning of the geographically established culture. In this way, space in Kālidāsa's works turns out to assign place to the man in the cosmos. The place of the former spatial levels, however, is too "spacious" to be identified with one's home. Although Kālidāsa as a court poet apparently gives the impression that his home coincides with the area of the empire, it goes only on the surface, since there certainly existed places, to which he may have attached personally.

Some scholars are quite convinced that these latter, beloved places are put on display in Kālidāsa's works, and therefore, they are especially worth for investigating. Under the influence of this thought, long discourses tried to define the place geographically, from where Kālidāsa came. Among them, Kalla emphasised the many occurrences of the Himālaya, from which he concluded that Kālidāsa may have been a native of Kashmir.¹⁵⁶⁰ Others understood the Ujjayinī scene of the *Meghadūta* as an introduction of Kālidāsa's hometown,¹⁵⁶¹ while Muralidhar Bhattarai argued in a rather sentimental writing for the parallels between the customs of his contemporary Nepal and Kālidāsa's poetry.¹⁵⁶² The opposing outcomes of these examinations, however, prove the futility of these efforts well. As a matter of fact, different scholars were intent on finding the place holding special significance for Kālidāsa in the same works, nevertheless, they came to different conclusions. Because three or more different countries are not able to foster the same Kālidāsa, it seems rather possible that none of the locations are liked better significantly than the others in his works. On the other hand, the idea, that poets describe their home enthusiastically, is typical for European Romanticism rather than for classical Sanskrit literature.

In this way, if we still try to say something about Kālidāsa's home, I suggest to take into consideration, first, the enumerated products of Raghu's Earth-conquest. While the geographical locations of the *digvijaya* usually lack history, the association of the countries with several products might reflect the contemporary commercial connections. Thus, I give a summary of these landmarks in the following chart:

Country	Plant		Products
	Domesticated	Wild	
Suhma–Vaṅga	rice	fan palm	ship

¹⁵⁶⁰ KALLA 1926.

¹⁵⁶¹ MIRASHI – NAVLEKAR 1969: 88–89.

¹⁵⁶² BHATTARAI w. d.

Kaliṅga	betel	om.	coconut juice, war elephant
Kerala–Pāṇḍya	betel nut, pepper, cardamom, sandal	om.	pearl
Aparānta	om.	screw palm, fan palm, date palm ¹⁵⁶³	om.
Persia	grape	om.	horse, wine
Bactria	saffron	walnut	om.
Himālaya–Gandhāra	om.	birch, nameru, pine, deodar	musk
Prāgiyotiṣa	agarwood	om.	om.

As it is apparent, Kālidāsa tends to couple the countries with their exports. Because the flora of most places, especially of the distant ones, is described exclusively by referring to those plants, which were in traffic, it seems that Kālidāsa may not have known them empirically, but instead he, as a presumed citizen of a merchant town, only knew the products yielded there.

From this view, Aparānta rises as an obvious exception, the description of which alone fails to mention any products. This suggests that Kālidāsa may have had the most knowledge of this Western corner of the surrounding world. Besides, the wild plants determine the description of the Himālaya as well. Although one could understand these latter hallmarks as common characteristics of the mountain, the description of the *Meghadūta* about the Himālayan pilgrimage sites seems sufficient enough to convince us about Kālidāsa's awareness of that region, too.

The emerging area situated between Aparānta and the Himālaya, in any case, correlates with the places, which the cloud messenger crossed. In this way, we can surmise that it was the Western part of the weakening Gupta empire, where Kālidāsa had his home. Although this area is still too large to be one's intimate home, I, nevertheless, think that Kālidāsa's works do not reveal more about the location of his home. Therefore, this also indicates that the object of our investigation on micro-level is not to

¹⁵⁶³ The case of the date palm is a bit uncertain. Although Kālidāsa alludes to the consumption of the date (*Abhijñānaśākuntala* 2.62. p. 112.), it may not have been as widespread as in the Arabic countries. (SHAH 2014: 987–988).

define Kālidāsa's home geographically, but instead, to analyse it as a recurrent motif in his poetry.

In Kālidāsa's works, the home usually appears as an absent place which the characters long for. Śakuntalā's tragedy is the loss of her home, because both the hermits and the king refused her. Agnimitra, the hero of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* lives far from his home town, and his recall at the end of the play serves as its climax. Beyond these examples, it is undisputedly the *Meghadūta*, where the want of the home develops into a central theme. Actually, the whole description of the course of the cloud messenger can be regarded as the foundation of the final description about the idyllic home of the *yakṣa*. After the pilgrimage sites of the Himālaya, we find ourselves in the heavenly Alakā embodying the perfect place, where nature and urban landscape produce together beauty.¹⁵⁶⁴

The *Meghadūta*, nevertheless, does not end with the arrival at Alakā. Though the heavenly town comprises the advantages of the former earthly places, its description is built on the shape of the previous ones. Alakā surpasses the former places from a quantitative point of view, since it is praised as a great treasury, where all goods are present together.

After the general overview on the city, there is a qualitative shift. The *yakṣa* reveals where his home is situated. The short description about this place seems quite unique, since it is determined deeply by the emotions of the *yakṣa*.

While the former landmarks of the *Meghadūta* are shared with many people, their place is occupied by such things in the description of home which are truly connected with the *yakṣa* couple:

tatr'āgāraṃ Dhanapati-grhān uttareṇ'āsmadīyaṃ
dūrāl lakṣyaṃ tad amaradhanuś-cāruṇā toraṇena|
yasy'ōpānte kṛtaka-tanayaḥ kāntayā vardhito me
*hasta-prāpya-stavaka-namito bāla-mandāra-vṛkṣaḥ||*¹⁵⁶⁵

Our home there, to the north of the house of the lord of wealth, is recognizable from afar by its arched gate, as beautiful as a rainbow, near to which, nurtured by my beloved like a son, is a young *mandāra* tree, bent over with clusters of blossoms in reach of one's hand.¹⁵⁶⁶

Although Kālidāsa ordinarily lets his poetic point of view dwell on such significant sights, the castle only serves here to direct us to the home of the *yakṣa*. This disinterest

¹⁵⁶⁴ SARKAR 1979: 355.

¹⁵⁶⁵ *Meghadūta* 72.

¹⁵⁶⁶ MALLINSON 2006: 71.

in Kubera's home seems to reveal a slight competition between the two places. According to Parameśvara, they were equally beautiful, because, in his opinion, the verse only revealed that the *yakṣa*'s cottage belonged to the palace district of Kubera's home.¹⁵⁶⁷ However, I think that, perhaps, Kālidāsa went here a bit further. The visibility of the home of the *yakṣa* is due to its rainbow-marked gate. Because we approach the place from south, the verse indicates that the presumably imagined monumentality of this gate surpasses even Kubera's lofty home in the mind of the *yakṣa*.

Although this introduction attests that the home of the *yakṣa* fits into the heavenly environment, there are, nevertheless, tiny, private things shaping its description. Immediately after the hint at the sky-high gate, as its "contrapposto", a small *mandāra*-sapling appears. The *yakṣa* reveals about this that his wife loved it as much as an adopted son. Actually, such a beloved plant often marks the home in Kālidāsa's works. According to the *Kumārasambhava*, even Skanda's birth is not able to efface Pārvatī's affection for the trees of her *āśrama*,¹⁵⁶⁸ while Śakuntalā left the *mādhavī*-creeper of her home in the forest tearfully, because she loves it as her sister.¹⁵⁶⁹ In the latter case, this relationship seems to be more complex, since the *mādhavī* is not only a landmark of her home, but also stands for Śakuntalā.¹⁵⁷⁰ At Kaṇva's *āśrama*, the *mādhavī* is an individuum, which corresponds to the fact that Śakuntalā also differs from her mates because of her non-*brāhmaṇic* birth. In the royal capital, on the contrary, there is a bower consisting of *mādhavī*-flowers.¹⁵⁷¹

After entering the *yakṣa*'s house, an idyllic garden is revealed, in connection with which the *yakṣa* enumerates four landmarks by the help of which, the cloud messenger can certainly recognise the place. First, a small lotus-pond captures our attention:

vāpī c'āsmīn marakata-śilā-baddha-sopānamārgā
haiṃbaiḥ syūtā kamala-mukulaiḥ snigdha-vaidūrya-nālaiḥ|
yasyās toyē kṛta-vasatayo Mānasam samnikṛṣṭam
*na dhyāsyanti vyapagata-śucas tvām api preksya haṃsāḥ||*¹⁵⁷²

The tank there has emerald-paved steps and is crisscrossed by blooming golden lotuses, their stalks of gleaming beryl. The flamingos [geese] that have taken up residence in its water have lost their longing: even on seeing you they have no thoughts for nearby Lake Mānasa.¹⁵⁷³

¹⁵⁶⁷ PARAMEŚA comm. ad MD 2.8.●.

¹⁵⁶⁸ *Kumārasambhava* 5.14. (See p. 196–197).

¹⁵⁶⁹ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 4.121–125 p. 200–202.

¹⁵⁷⁰ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 3.31–32 p. 138.●.

¹⁵⁷¹ *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 6.94–95 p. 276.

¹⁵⁷² *Meghadūta* 73.

¹⁵⁷³ MALLINSON 2006: 71.

Because the lotus-pond holds golden lotuses, it serves as a miniature of the heavenly Mānasa lake. Thus, the geese, notwithstanding the arrival of the cloud, do not leave this place.

On the bank of the lotus-pond, there appears a pleasure-hill (*krīḍā-śaila*):

*yasyās <vāpyāḥ> tīre nicita-śikharāḥ peśalair indranīlaiḥ
krīḍā-śailaḥ kanaka-kadalī-veṣṭana-prekṣaṇīyāḥ|
mad-gehinīyāḥ priya iti sakhe cetasā kātarena
prekṣy'ōpānta-sphurita-taḍitaṁ tvāṁ tam eva smarāmi||*¹⁵⁷⁴

To the side of the tank, its top covered in exquisite sapphires, is a rockery, beautiful with its girdle of golden plantains. My wife is fond of it, so friend, when I look at you, lightning flashes sparkling at your edges, it is with troubled mind that I think of it and nothing else.¹⁵⁷⁵

The *krīḍā-śaila* also has a counterpart in the surrounding celestial landscape. Formerly, the Kailāsa is described as Pārvatī's *krīḍā-śaila*, on which the cloud messenger is imagined as a staircase, while it darkens the whitish peak.¹⁵⁷⁶ At the home of the *yakṣa*, on the contrary, the *krīḍā-śaila* is made of sapphire, and therefore, it by nature recalls the shape of the cloud.

From another view, both the lotus-pond and the pleasure-hill introduce the home as a microcosm of the world. As we have seen, Kālidāsa's civilisation is basically bordered by waters and mountains, to which the garden decorations of the *yakṣa*-cottage may correspond.

As the third landmark of the home, a bower of *mādhavī* flowers occurs, where two trees, an *aśoka* and a *bakula* (*kesara*) become apparent:

*rakt^aśokaś cala-kisalayaḥ kesaraś c'ātra kāntaḥ
pratyaśannau kuravaka-vṛter mādhavī-maṇḍapasya|
ekaḥ sakhyās tava saha mayā vāma-pād^ābhilāṣī
kāṅkṣaty anyo vadana-madirāṁ dohada-cchadman'āśyāḥ||*¹⁵⁷⁷

On it, near a *mādhavī* bower ringed by *kurabaka* bushes, are a red *aśoka* tree with waving fronds and a lovely *bakula*. In company with me, the former longs for the touch of your lady friend's left foot, and the latter, feigning a craving, wants the wine of her mouth.¹⁵⁷⁸

¹⁵⁷⁴ *Meghadūta* 74.

¹⁵⁷⁵ MALLINSON 2006: 71.

¹⁵⁷⁶ *Meghadūta* 59–60•.

¹⁵⁷⁷ *Meghadūta* 75.

¹⁵⁷⁸ MALLINSON 2006: 73.

Both of the trees are humanised. Among them, the *asoka* longs for the left foot of its mistress, because the *asoka* trees usually bring forth flowers if young ladies kick them. The wish of the *bakula*, on the other hand, is also related to its flowering, because they come into blossom after they are sprinkled by a sip of wine.¹⁵⁷⁹ In connection with this verse, Mallinson remarked that these trees behave like certain pregnant women, who should be satisfied before childbirth.¹⁵⁸⁰ Although the hint at the *dohada* (longing of a pregnant woman) suggests this way of interpretation, the compound word *chadman* modifies its meaning. According to Parameśvara, the word *chadman*, in fact, indicates that both the *asoka* and the *bakula* only pretend their “pregnancy”, since they are usually associated with mannish attributes. In his opinion, therefore, the behaviour of the trees rather expresses a common desire towards the beautiful *yakṣa* lady.¹⁵⁸¹ In this way, the *asoka* and the *bakula* trees seem to incorporate loving men longing for the same inaccessible lady, despite that they are surrounded with many *mādhavī* flowers serving as their usual wives. From this view, the image reminds me of the *mādhavī* bower of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, where Duṣyanta, failing to care for his harem, daydreamed about her celestial mistress in the company of his *vidūṣaka*.¹⁵⁸²

Between the two trees, there appears a golden perch, on which the peacock of the house comes to rest:

tan-madhye ca sphatika-phalakā kāñcanī vāsa-yaṣṭir
mūle naddhā mañibhir an-ati-prauḍha-vaṃśa-prakāśaiḥ|
tālaiḥ śiñjad-valaya-su-bhagair nartitaiḥ kāntayā me
*yām adhyāste divasa-vigame nīlakaṇṭhaḥ suhrd vaḥ||*¹⁵⁸³

And between them is a golden perch with a platform of crystal, inlaid at its base with gems that shine like young bamboo. Your blue-throated friend, the peacock, roosts on it at day's end and my sweetheart makes him dance with claps made lovely by her tinkling bracelets.¹⁵⁸⁴

The wife of the *yakṣa* often delights in making the peacock dance, however, the perch is empty now. The peacock, just as the exiled *yakṣa*, is missing from the image of the home. The desire of the former trees is vain, since the peacock, as a symbol of the *yakṣa*, in which the mistress really takes pleasure, is not present there.

After enumerating the landmarks, the image of the mansion concludes the description:

¹⁵⁷⁹ MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 2.14.●.

¹⁵⁸⁰ MALLINSON 2006: 276.

¹⁵⁸¹ PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad *MD* 2.11.●.

¹⁵⁸² *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 6.94–6.175 p. 276–294.

¹⁵⁸³ *Meghadūta* 76.

¹⁵⁸⁴ MALLINSON 2006: 73.

*ebhiḥ sādho hr̥daya-nihitair lakṣaṇair lakṣaṇīyaṃ
dvār^ôpānte likhita-vapuṣau śaṅkha-padmau ca dṛṣṭvā|
kṣāma-cchāyaṃ bhavanam adhunā mad-viyogena nūnaṃ
sūry^âpāye na khalu kamalaṃ puṣyati svām abhikhyām||*¹⁵⁸⁵

By means, o clever one, of these signs stored in your heart, and on seeing the beautiful forms of the conch and the lotus inscribed around the door, the house is to be recognized, its luster now surely dimmed by my absence – at the setting of the Sun, does not the lotus lose its beauty?¹⁵⁸⁶

Although the components of the heavenly garden already have indicated some discrepancy in the idyll, this becomes manifest here, since the palace is described as being overshadowed by the absence of its lord, and therefore, it looks like a lotus after sunset. In this way, only two tiny signs, a conch (*śaṅkha*) and a lotus (*padma*) engraved at the door can somewhat show that richness, which we may expect on the basis of the surrounding milieu. The commentators associated these ornaments with Kubera's treasures called *nidhis*.¹⁵⁸⁷ Because the *nidhis* are often personified and imagined as Kubera's attendants, Parameśvara and Pūrṇasarasvatī put forward that Śaṅkha and Padma served the cottage as doorkeepers,¹⁵⁸⁸ in which role they, incidentally, appear at the entrance of the palace of Vijayabāhu I (eleventh century) in Anurādhapura.¹⁵⁸⁹ From this correspondence, Parānavitana concluded that the door ornaments of Vijayabāhu's palace were representative of the mansions of the Gupta period.¹⁵⁹⁰ This statement, however, does not go without doubt. Actually, the identification of the two signs with Kubera's *nidhis* is proposed only by the commentators, but not by Kālidāsa. Furthermore, both the conch and the lotus are carved in non-humanised form on the pillars sustaining the veranda of cave 1 at Ajantā. Concerning these signs, though Claudine Bautze-Picron does not exclude their identification with the *nidhis*, she suggests that they can be more general symbols of prosperity.¹⁵⁹¹ By all means, both ways of the possible interpretations seems to attest that the *yakṣa*'s cottage, in spite of its shabby look, is a wealthy place.

¹⁵⁸⁵ *Meghadūta* 77.

¹⁵⁸⁶ MALLINSON 2006: 73.

¹⁵⁸⁷ DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad MD 2.13.♦; MALLINĀTHA comm. ad MD 2.17.♦; VALLABHADEVA comm. ad MD 77.♦.

¹⁵⁸⁸ PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad MD 2.13.♦; PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad MD 2.13.♦.

¹⁵⁸⁹ PARANAVITANA 1955: 121–124.

¹⁵⁹⁰ PARANAVITANA 1955: 124.

¹⁵⁹¹ BAUTZE-PICRON 2002: 226–227.

Conclusions

In the introduction of this dissertation, I have pointed out that Kālidāsa's landscapes in fact correspond to the images of an eternal journey, through which the contemporary India is revealed. From this view, the three spatial levels look like the three main courses of this journey.

Raghu's *digvijaya* introducing Kālidāsa's attitude towards the world is a circuit around the emerging empire. Because the focaliser takes place at the ultimate top of the vertical plane, in other words, it adopts the steady God's view, the horizontal moves of the focal point characterise the descriptions here. In agreement with Steinbock's formerly cited remark, the horizontality always correlates with humanness.¹⁵⁹² This seems to be true for Raghu's conquest as well, since its main purpose is to divide the peoples into civilised and barbarian groups.

Concerning the question – “who merits the status to be civilised” – Kālidāsa's answer apparently echoes the early *purāṇas*, and, in like manner, restricts culture to a geographically defined area. Apart from this similarity, however, there is a remarkable difference between them. While the *purāṇas* usually regard foreigners as a homogeneous mass surrounding the culture, Kālidāsa identifies places among them. Thus, the foreign countries not merely embody the chaos of the uncivilised world, but they, in accordance with the idea of the *cakravartī-kṣetra*, become parts of the empire building. Consequently, these countries develop into the places to be hegemonised for those, who are keen on founding an empire. Although the conquered countries underlie, in this way, the greatness and the power of Raghu's emerging empire, they still remain out of the scope of the *brāhmaṇical* culture.

After the introduction of the foreign countries, Kālidāsa's own civilisation is displayed on the second spatial level. Beyond the thematical change, perhaps, the most essential characteristic of this level is that the focaliser starts to move on the vertical plane. Because the verticality by nature involves a kind of spirituality,¹⁵⁹³ the civilised part of world appears as such a place, where the divine laws prevail, and where the transcendental powers can be perceived. This characteristic may imply that places occur as forms (in Platonic sense) rather than as individuals in the description of Kālidāsa's country. While Kālidāsa's world consists of geographically determined places such as Kalinga, Persia, and Bactra, the description of his civilisation is rather constructed from general elements such as village, town and *āśrama*. As a result, instead of the geographical accuracy, the functional role of places becomes the main organising principle on this spatial level. The idealised places are, in this way, associated with different purposes, and moreover, they are arranged in a hierarchy.

¹⁵⁹² STEINBOCK 2007: 13.

¹⁵⁹³ STEINBOCK 2007: 13.

This paradigmatic change, on the other hand, can explain the occurrence of the anachronistic conflicts, such as the foundation of Mathurā, in the formerly strict geographical order. In Kālidāsa's "happy land", individuality makes less sense, and instead, places mainly undertake functional roles. The functionality, in this way, surpasses the geography, since it depends on transcendental laws prevailing the civilisation. Geography, on the contrary, is a human invention, which can be the main organising principle with regard to those places, which are not influenced by the divine powers.

To sum up, the journey through Kālidāsa's country exhibits mostly stereotyped places together with likewise schematic inhabitants. In this way, the third spatial level emerges, when the personal attachment to a place occurs in the description. The place overfilled by personal emotions is one's home.¹⁵⁹⁴ Although the journey towards home and the absence of home play central role in Kālidāsa's works, its description is rather underrepresented compared to the places of the two previous spatial levels. It seems that Kālidāsa, as an imperial court poet, rather attempted to introduce the whole scope of his civilisation as an idealised common home.

Though the variety of the poetic settings differentiates spatial levels in Kālidāsa's approach towards space, it seems that the propagated harmony between people and places still serves as cohesive force among the levels. In fact, it is this harmony, on which the prosperity of Kālidāsa's "happy land" depends, and to the conditions of which the three spatial levels may correspond.

First, civilisation is needed to be separated from the barbarian countries. Raghu's conquest, therefore, lays down the sacred borders, within which the transcendental powers operate. However, the exclusion of the barbarians in itself is not sufficient for the good life. As a second condition, the civilised part of the world should be arranged and structured in accordance with special socio-religious laws. In this way, if the first two conditions are fulfilled, the empire will flourish like under Atithi.¹⁵⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the success of the empire alone is not able to perform one's happiness. Quite the contrary, even the prosperous empire becomes unbearable for those, who lost their home. Thus, it seems that the central message of Kālidāsa's landscapes is to find one's own place. This lifelong searching covers three forums: the cosmos, the society and the personal life.

¹⁵⁹⁴ TUAN 2001: 144.

¹⁵⁹⁵ *Raghuvamśa* 17.50–81.

Appendices

CITATIONS

n. 28.

Mahābhāṣya 6.3.109. p. 174.

*ke punaḥ śiṣṭāḥ| vaiyākaraṇāḥ| kuta etat| śāstra-pūrvikā hi śiṣṭir vaiyākaraṇāś ca śāstra-jñāḥ|
yadi tarhi śāstra-pūrvikā śiṣṭiḥ śiṣṭi-pūrvakam ca śāstram tad itar^etar^āśrayam bhavati|
itar^etar^āśrayāṇi ca na prakalpante| evaṁ tarhi nivāsata ācārataś ca| sa c'ācāra Āryāvarta
eva|*

n. 30.

Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra 1.1.2.9.

prāg Ādarsāt pratyak Kanakhalād dakṣiṇena Himavantam udak Pāriyātram etad Āryāvartam|

Mahābhārata 14.96.15.*4.2494–2495

*ā samudrāc ca yat pūrvād ā samudrāc ca paścimāt|
Himavad-Vindhayor madhyam Āryāvartam pracakṣate||*

n. 31.

Manusmṛti 2.22–23

*ā samudrāt tu vai pūrvād ā samudrāc ca paścimāt|
taylor ev'āntaram giryor Āryāvartam vidur budhāḥ||
kṛṣṇasāras tu carati mṛgo yatra sva-bhāvataḥ|
sa jñeyo yajñīyo deśo mleccha-deśas tv ataḥ paraḥ||*

Viṣṇusmṛti 84.4.

*cāturvarṇya-vyavasthānam yasmin deśe na vidyate|
sa mleccha-deśo jijñeya Āryāvartas tataḥ paraḥ||*

n. 35.

Arthaśāstra 1.18.

*tasyām Himavat-samudr^āntaram udicīnam yojana-sahasra-parimāṇam tiryak cakravarti-
kṣetram|*

n. 37.

CII Vol. 3. No. 1. p. 8. l. 29.

Samudra-Guptyasya sarva-pr̥thivī-vijaya-janit^ôdaya-vyāpta-nikhil^āvani-talām kīrtim

CII Vol. 3. No. 6. p. 35. l. 5.

kṛtsna-pr̥thivī-jay^ārthena rājñā <Candra-Guptyena>

CII Vol. 3. No. 12. p. 49. l. 14–15

sarva-rāj^ôccettuh̐ pr̥thivyām a-pratirathasya catur-udadhi-salil^āsvādita-yaśaso <Samudra-Guptyasya>

n. 41.

Kāvya-mīmāṃsā 17. p. 93.

tatra Vārāṇasyāḥ purataḥ Pūrva-deśaḥ| yatr'Āṅga-Kaliṅga-Kosala-Tosal^Ôtkala-Magadha-Mudgara-Videha-Nepāla-Puṇḍra-Prāgiyotiṣa-Tāmraliptaka-Malada-Mallavarttika-Suhma-Brahmottara-prabhṛtayo janapadāḥ|

n. 51.

Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra 1.1.2.14.

Āraṭṭān Kāraskarān Puṇḍrān Sauvīrān Vaṅgān Kaliṅgān Prānūnān iti ca gatvā punastomena yajeta sarvapṛṣṭhayaḥ vā|

n. 56.

Manusmṛti 9.180.

*kṣetraj^ādīn sutān etān ekādaśa yath^ôditān|
putra-pratinidhīn āhuḥ kriyā-lopān manīṣiṇaḥ||*

n. 59.

Harivaṃśa 2.30.

*Bales tu Brahmanā datto varaḥ prītena Bhārata|
mahā-yogitvam āyus ca kalpasya parimāṇataḥ|
caturo niyatān varṇāṃs tvam ca sthāpayit'ēti ha||*

Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa 2.74.29–31

Baleś tu Brahmanā dattā varāḥ prītena dhīmataḥ|
mahā-yogitvam āyus ca kalpasya parimāṇakam||
saṃgrāme v'āpy a-jevatvam dharme c'aiva prabhāvataḥ|
trailokya-darśanam c'aiva prādhānyam prasave tathā||
Baleś c'ā-pratimatvam vai dharma-tattu^ārtha-darśanam|
caturō niyatān varṇāṃs tvam vai sthāpayit'ēti vai||

Matsya-purāṇa 48.26–29c

Baleś ca Brahmanā datto varāḥ prītena dhīmataḥ|
mahā-yogitvam āyus ca kalpasya parimāṇakam||
saṃgrāme c'āpy a-jevatvam dharme c'aiv'ottamā matiḥ|
traikālyā-darśanam c'aiva prādhānyam prasave tathā||
jayaṃ c'ā-pratimam yuddhe dharme tattv^ārtha-darśanam|
caturō niyatān varṇān sa vai sthāpayitā prabhuh||
teṣāṃ ca pañca dāyādā Vaṅg^Āṅgāḥ Suhmakās tathā|
Puṇḍrāḥ Kalingās ca tathā

n. 69.

Daśakumāracarita 6. p. 207. l. 3–5

<Mitraguptaḥ> so 'ham api subhrt-sādhāraṇa-bhramaṇa-kāraṇaḥ Suhmeṣu Dāmalipt^āhva-
yasya nagarasya bāhy^ōdyāne mahāntam utsava-samājam alokayam|

n. 86.

Rāmāyaṇa 1.22.13–14

tasya gātram hatam tatra nirdagdhasya mah^ātmanā <Śivena>|
a-sārīraḥ kṛtaḥ Kāmaḥ krodhād dev^ēsvareṇa ha||
Anaṅga iti vikhyātas tadā prabhṛti Rāghava|
sa c'Āṅga-viśayaḥ śrīmān yatr'āṅgaṃ sa mumoca ha||

n. 92.

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 6.27.

yajña-sūtra-kāraiḥ vinīta-bhāgaḥ kalpita-yajñ^āṃśaḥ|

JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.28.

satra-kāraiḥ yājñikāiḥ vinīta-bhāgaḥ vinīto datto yasya bhāgo yasmai Vāsava-kalpita-yajña-
bhāgaḥ|

n. 93.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.27.

*vinīta-nāgaḥ śikṣita-gajaḥ| kil'ēty aitiḥye| sūtra-kārāḥ Pālakāpya-rāja-putra-mṛga-śarm^ādayo
gaja-śāstra-pravaktāro mah^arṣayaḥ|*

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.27.

sūtra-kārair gaja-śāstra-kṛdbhiḥ Pālakāpy^ādibhir mah^arṣibhir vinīta-nāgaḥ śikṣita-gajaḥ|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.27.

*sūtra-kārāḥ Pālakāpy^ādayo gaja-śāstra-pravaktāro mah^arṣayaḥ taiḥ karṭṛbhiḥ vinītā śikṣitā
gajā yasya|*

ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 111.^r

sūtram gaja-śāstram tat kurvanti tair vinītā nāgā hastino yasya sa tathā|

VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 84.^v

*sūtra-kārair gaja-śikṣā-kārair Gautam^āgniveśy^ādibhir Indra-preritair etair Aṅga-rājasya
gajā vinītā ity āgamah|*

n. 100.

Daśakumāracarita 2. p. 116. l. 8–9

ārya Maurya-datta eṣa varo vaṇijām| idṛṣeṣv aparādheṣv a-subhir a-viyogaḥ|

n. 105.

Rāmāyaṇa 1.42.21.

*Bhagīrathō 'pi rāj^arṣir divyaṁ syandanam āsthitah|
prāyād agre mahā-tejās taṁ Gaṅgā prṣṭhato 'nvagāt||*

n. 109.

Mahābhārata 2.31.10.ab

saha sarvais tathā mlecchahiḥ sāgar^ānūpa-vāsibhiḥ|

n. 110.

Harivaṃśa 117.28c–30

*Kauśikīm saṃśrayiṣyanti narāḥ kṣud-bhaya-pīditāḥ||
 Aṅgān Vaṅgān Kaliṅgāṃś ca Kāśmīrān atha Mekalān|
 R̥sik^ānta-giri-droṇīḥ saṃśrayiṣyanti mānavāḥ||
 kṛtsnam ca Himavat-pārśvaṃ kūlaṃ ca lavaṇ^āmbhasaḥ|
 aranyāni ca vatsyanti narā mleccha-gaṇaiḥ saha||*

Brahma-purāṇa 231.69c–72

*Kauśikīm saṃtarisyanti narāḥ kṣud-bhaya-pīditāḥ||
 Aṅgān Vaṅgān Kaliṅgāṃś ca Kāśmīrān atha Kośalān|
 R̥sik^ānta-giri-droṇīḥ saṃśrayiṣyanti mānavāḥ||
 kṛtsnam ca Himavat-pārśvaṃ kūlaṃ ca lavaṇ^āmbhasaḥ|
 vividhaṃ jīrṇa-pattraṃ ca valkalāny ajināni ca||
 svayaṃ kṛtvā nivatsyanti tasmin bhūte yuga-kṣaye|
 aranyeṣu ca vatsyanti narā mleccha-gaṇaiḥ saha||*

n. 111.

Amarakośa 2.4.436.

kharjūraḥ ketakī tālī kharjurī ca tṛṇa-drumāḥ iti|

n. 113.

EI Vol. 14. No. 5. p.117. l. 13.

kṛtvā c'āyati-mocita-sthala-bhuvo (em. ŚĀSTRĪ 1917–1918, °maucita° inscrip.) *Gauḍān samud-
 r^āśrayān adhyāsiṣṭa nata-kṣit^īśa-caraṇaḥ siṃh^āsanam yo <Īśānavarmā> jitī||*

n. 121.

CII Vol. 3. No. 46. p. 215. l. 1.

mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-patti- (em. FLEET 1888: °hāsty° inscrip.)

n. 135.

Mahābhārata 3.114.5.

*ṛṣibhiḥ samupāyuktaṃ yajñīyaṃ giri-śobhitam|
 uttaraṃ tīraṃ etad dhi satataṃ dvija-sevitam||*

n. 149.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.39.

Utkalair jitatvād darśito mārgo yasya|

n. 150.

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.38.

anen'Ōtkalānām dur-balatvaṃ mārgasya ca dur-gamatvaṃ ca dyotyate|

n. 151.

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.40.

Utkalo yuddhaṃ vinā jita ity arthaḥ|

ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 77.^v

Utkalā vinā eva yuddhaṃ militā iti abhiprāyaḥ|

n. 152.

Arthaśāstra 2.2.14–15.ab

*par^ānīka-vyūha-durga-skandh^āvāra-pramardanā hy ati-pramāṇa-śarīrāḥ prāṇa-hara-karmāṇo
hastinaḥ|| Kāliṅg^Āṅgara-jāḥ śreṣṭhāḥ prācyās Cedi-Karūṣa-jāḥ|*

Gajaśāstra 4.15.

*Kāliṅgas Sahya-Vindhy^Ōtkala-Kalaśaja-dig-vāridhīnām tu madhyaṃ|
tatratyas sūkṣma-romā madhu-dṛg abhinavo varṣmavān manda-cāraḥ <gajāḥ>||*

n. 161.

ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.41.

*san-maṅgala-snātaḥ sadbhiḥ kṛta-maṅgala-snānaḥ| tac ca sarv^auṣadhi-snānam| yat tu sarv-
^auṣadhi-snānam tan maṅgalyam a-locakam iti Yādavaḥ|*

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.41.

*san-maṅgala-snāta iva san-maṅgalaiḥ snātaḥ kṛta-snānaḥ| sadbhiḥ kṛta-maṅgala-snāna ity arthaḥ|
maṅgala-snānam sarv^auṣadhi-snānam| yat tu sarv^auṣadhi-snānam tan maṅgalyam a-locakam
iti Yādavaḥ| atra dviṣām nārāca-varṣ^ānubhavas tasya sarva-divy^auṣadhi-sa-nāthena jalena
kalaśam āpūrya sadbhiḥ kṛtam vijay^ārtham yat snānam tad anubhava iv'ābhūd ity utprekṣate|*

n. 162.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.42.

*viṣahya sahitvā sad yathā-śāstram maṅgala-snāta iva vijaya-maṅgal^ārtham abhiṣikta iva|
jaya-śriyam pratipede| yat tu sarv^auṣadhi-snānam tan māṅgalyam udīritam iti Yādavaḥ|*

n. 163.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.42.

śobhane maṅgale Puṣy^ādaḥ kṛt^ābhiṣeka iva|

n. 164.

ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 77.^v

*ka iva san-maṅgala-snāta iva Puṣy^ādi-nakṣatre jaṭāmāṃsy-ādinā [em. +++māṃsyādinā f.
77.^v; jaṭāmāsyādinā MS Add. 1396.1. f. 52.^v] snānam vivāh^ārtham vā lakṣmī-pradam|*

n. 165.

Śivadhanurveda 73.ab

sarva-lohās tu ye bāṇā nārācās te prakīrtitāḥ|

n. 170.

Mahābhārata 7.18.22.

*tasya <Kṛṣṇasya> tam mānuṣam bhāvam bhava-jño 'jñāya Pāṇḍavaḥ <Arjunah>|
vāyavy^āstreṇa tair astām śara-vṛṣṭim apāharat||*

Mahābhārata 8.15.31.

*Drauṇi-parjanya-muktām tam bāṇa-vṛṣṭim su-duḥ-sahām|
vāyavy^āstreṇa sa kṣipram ruddhvā Pāṇḍy^ānilo 'nadat||*

n. 186.

Raghuvamśa 5.39.

*ath'eṣvareṇa Krathakaisikānām svayaṃvar^ārtham svasur Indumatyā|
āptaḥ kumār^ānayan^ōtsukena Bhोजना dūto Raghave viśṛṣṭaḥ||*

Daśakumāracarita 8. p. 252. l. 12. – p. 255. l. 5.

*śrūyatām mahā-bhāga Vidarbho nāma janapadaḥ| tasmin Bhoja-vamśa-bhūṣaṇam aṁś^āva-
tāra iva dharmasya ati-sattvaḥ satya-vādī vadānyaḥ vinītaḥ vinetā prajānām rañjita-bhṛtyaḥ
kīrtimān udagro buddhi-mūrtibhyām utthāna-śīlaḥ śāstra-pramāṇaḥ śakya-bhavya-
kalp^ārambhī sambhāvayitā budhān prabhāvayitā sevakān udbhāvayitā bandhūn nyag-
bhāvayitā śatrūn a-sambaddha-pralāpeṣu a-datta-karṇaḥ kadā-cid apy a-vi-trṣṇo guṇeṣu ati-
nadiṣṇaḥ kalāsu nedi-ṣṭho dharm^ārtha-samhitāsu sv-alpe 'pi su-kṛte sutarām pratyupakartā
pratyavekṣitā kośa-vāhanayoḥ yatnena parikṣitā sarv^ādhyakṣāṇām utsāhayitā kṛta-karmaṇām
anurūpair dāna-mānaiḥ sadyaḥ pratikartā daiva-mānuṣiṇām āpadām ṣāḍguny^ōpayoga-
nīpuṇaḥ Manu-mārgeṇa prañetā cāturvarnyasya puṇya-ślokaḥ Puṇyavarmā nām'āsīt|*

n. 187.

Aitareya-brāhmaṇa 8.14. p. 231.

*tasmād etasyām dakṣiṇasyām diśi ye ke ca Satvatām rājāno bhaujyāy'aiva te 'bhiṣicyante bhoj'ēty
enān abhiṣiktān ācakṣata|*

n. 202.

Raghuvamśa 13.27.

*gandhās ca dhārā-hata-palvalānām kadambam ardh^ōdgata-kesaram ca|
snigdhās ca kekāḥ śikhinām tvayā me Yasmin vinā duṣ-prasahāny abhūvan||*

n. 211.

EI Vol. 37. No. 3. p. 20. l. 1–2

Mānānka-nṛpatiḥ śrīmān Kuntalānām pra[sā]sitā||

n. 215.

Mahābhārata 5.22.22.

*Pāṇḍyaś ca rāj'ā-mita Indra-kalpo yudhi pravīrair bahubhiḥ sametaḥ|
samāgataḥ Pāṇḍav^ārthe mah^ātmā loka-pravīro 'prativīrya-tejāḥ||*

Mahābhārata 5.168.24.

*anuraktaś ca śūraś ca ratho 'yam aparo mahān|
Pāṇḍya-rājo mahā-vīryaḥ Pāṇḍavānām dhuraṇ-dharaḥ||*

n. 234.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.61.

Indram abhiyāsyān Rāvaṇaḥ pārṣṇi-grāham enam amanyat'ēty arthaḥ|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.61.

Indra-lokam apahartum udyukto Rāvaṇo yaṁ pārṣṇi-grāham kṛtvā prasthitavān ity arthaḥ|

n. 235.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.62.

guṇḍa-mūla-pratyantena śuddha-pārṣṇinā ca yātrā deya

n. 236.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.61.

Param[^]eśvaram ārādhya dur-jayaṁ Brahma-śiro nām'āstram avāp'ēti Praśastimālāyāṁ śrūyate|

JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.63.

Harāt Īśvarāt astram śastram Pāśupat[^]ākhyam āptavatā prāptavatā|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.62.

purā pūrvam Janasthānasya khar[^]ālayasya vimarda-śaṅkī dṛpta uddhato Laṅk[^]ādhipatī Rāvaṇo dur-āpam dur-labham astram Brahma-śiro-nāmakam Harād āptavatā yena Pāṇḍyena samdhāya|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.61.

Param[^]eśvarāt sakāśād anya-duṣ-prāpam Brahma-śiro nām'āstram prāptavatā|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.62.

Śivād duṣ-prāpam astram Pāśupatam labdhavatā|

n. 239.

Hālāsyamāhātmya 9.1–2 p. 55.

*Brahma-Viṣṇu-ādi-devānām a-dṛśyas Soma-sundarah|
sv[^]āṁśena līṅgān nirgatya sarv[^]āvaya[va]-sundarah||*

*Tatātakām udūhy'ātha svayaṃ Pāṇḍya-mahī-patiḥ|
devas Sundara-Pāṇḍyo 'bhūt tām līlāṃ varṇayāmy aham||*

n. 240.

Hālāsyamāhātmya 17.19.c–23 p. 91.

*Ugreṇa Pāṇḍya-rājena deva-rāj^ādhika-śrīyā||
Indro bhīty'āsūyayā ca mahatyā ca krudh'āyutaḥ|
prajā-rakṣaṇam ev'āsya sampad-vṛddheś ca kāraṇam||
tad dharma-hāniḥ kartavyā may'ōpāy^āntareṇa ca|
tasya sampad-vivṛddhiś ca yathā sadyo 'pi naśyati||
iti niścītya matimān āhūya saritām patim|
mahā-kallola-jālais (corr. DEZSÖ °kalpola° a corr.) ca bhayaṃ-karam ahar-nīsam||
kabali-kartum Ugrasya purim aty-Amarāvatim|
Madhurāñ codayām āsa mahad ambhaḥ pravāhakaiḥ||*

n. 274.

Kāvyamīmāṃsā 17. p. 92–93

*Malaya-viśeṣās tu catvārah|
teṣu prathamah|
ā mūla-yaṣṭeḥ phaṇi-veṣṭitānām sac-candanānām jana-nandanānām|
kakkolaka^ailā-maricair yutānām jātī-tarūṇām ca sa janma-bhūmiḥ||
dvitīyah|
yasy'ōttamām mauktika-kāma-dhenur upatyakām arcati Tāmrāparṇi|
ratn^eśvaro ratna-mahā-nidhānaṃ Kumbhodbhavas taṃ Malayaṃ punāti||
tatra drumā vidruma-nāmadheyā vaṃśeṣu muktā-phala-janma tatra|
mad^ōtkataiḥ kesari-kaṇṭha-nādaḥ sphuṭanti tasmin dhana-sāra-vṛkṣāḥ||
tṛtīyah|
vilāsa-bhūmiḥ sakal^āmarānām padam nṛṇām gaur muni-puṅgavasya|
sadā-phalaiḥ puṣpa-latā-pravālair āścarya-mūlaṃ Malayah sa tatra||
caturthah|
sā tatra cāmīkara-ratna-citraiḥ prāsāda-mālā-valabhī-viṭanikaiḥ|
dvār^ārgal^ābaddha-sur^eśvar^āṅkā Laṅk'ēti yā Rāvaṇa-rājadhāni||*

n. 279.

Kādambarī p. 533. l. 5.

Pallavike bhojaya maric^āgra-pallava-dalāni bhavana-hārītān|

n. 280.

Vāsavadattā p. 129. l. 10–11

Sanjīvanike vitara jīvañ jīvaka-mithunāya marica-pallavam|

n. 289.

Mahābhārata 1.68.54.*647.3.

Malayāc candanam jātam ati-sītam vadanti vai|

Mahābhārata 8.15.32.

tasya <Pāṇḍyasya> nānadataḥ ketum candan^āguru-bhūṣitam|
Malaya-pratimam Drauṇis chittv'āsvāms' caturo 'hanat||

n. 291.

Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha 2072.

api samtāpa-samanāḥ śuddhāḥ surabhi-sītalāḥ|
bhujaṅga-saṅgāj jāyante bhīṣanās candana-drumāḥ||

Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha 3694.

a-sadbhiḥ sevito rājā svayam sann api dūsyate|
kiṃ sevyo bhogi-samvīto gāndhavān api candanaḥ||

n. 292.

Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha 8544.

kanaka-kamala-kāntair ānanaiḥ pāṇḍu-gaṇḍair
upari-nihita-hāraiś candan^ārdrāiḥ stan^āntaiḥ|
mada-janita-vilāsair drṣṭi-pātair mun^īndrān
stana-bhara-ṇata-nāryaḥ kāmāyanti prasāntān||

Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha 9188.

kastūrī-vara-patra-bhaṅga-nikaro bhraṣṭo na gaṇḍa-sthale
no luptam sakhi candanam stana-taṭe dhautam na netr^āñjanam|
rāgo na skhalitas tav'ādhara-puṭe tāmbūla-samvardhitāḥ
kiṃ ruṣṭ'āsi gaj^ēndra-matta-gamane kiṃ vā śīśus te patiḥ||

n. 294.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.51.

*aṅga-hār^ârthaṃ pāda-tray^âvasthānaṃ tripadī madāc ca tasyāś chedanam vināso 'nyena
pāda-trayen^âvasthānam| ekam hi pādam dvipā jāti-sva-bhāvād utkṣipanti|*

n. 300.

Mahābhārata 13.33.19.

*Śakā Yavana-Kāambojās tās tāḥ kṣatriya-jātayaḥ|
vṣalatvaṃ parigatā brāhmaṇānām a-darśanāt||*

Manusmṛti 10.43–44

*śanakais tu kriyā-lopād imāḥ kṣatriya-jātayaḥ|
vṣalatvaṃ gatā loke brāhmaṇ^â-darśanena ca||
Punḍrakāś Coḍa-Dravidāḥ Kāambojā Yavanāḥ Śakāḥ|
Pāradāḥ Pahlavāś Cīnāḥ Kirātā Daradās tathā||*

n. 319.

Harivaṃśa 23.144–150

*ten^ēyam pṛthivī kṛtsnā sapta-dvīpā sa-pattanā|
sa-samudrā sa-nagarā ugreṇa vidhinā jītā||
tena saptasu dvīpeṣu sapta yajña-śatāni vai|
prāptāni vidhinā rājñā śrūyante janamejaya||
sarve yajñā mahā-bāho tasy^āsan bhūri-dakṣiṇāḥ|
sarve kāñcana-yūpās ca sarve kāñcana-vedayaḥ||
sarve devair mahā-rāja vimāna-sthair alaṃkṛtāḥ|
gandharvair apsarobhis ca nityam ev^ōpaśobhitāḥ||
yasya yajñe jagau gāthāṃ gandharvo Nāradas tathā|
Varidās^âtmaḥ vidvān mahimnā tasya vismitaḥ||
na nūnam Kārtavīryasya gatim yāsyanti pāṛthivāḥ|
yajñair dānais tapobhir vā vikrameṇa śrutena vā||
sa hi saptasu dvīpeṣu khadgī carmi śar^āsanī|
rathī dvīpān anucaran yogī samdrśyate nṛbhiḥ||*

n. 329.

Mahābhārata 2.28.34.ad

*mayā <Agninā> tu rakṣitavy^ēyam purī Bharata-sattama|
yāvad rājño 'sya Nīlasya kula-vamśa-dharā iti||*

n. 330.

Rāmāyaṇa 7.31.7.cd

Arjuno nāma yasy'Āgñiḥ śara-kunḍe śayah sadā||

n. 358.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.56.

Kauṅkaṇānām abhibhav^ārthaṃ kṛt^ôdyogaiḥ|

n. 360.

VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 60.^v

Aparāntaḥ Sapta-Koṅkaṇo deśo Rām^eṣ^ûtsārito 'pi Paraśurāma-śar^âpasārito 'pi|

n. 363.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.54.

Aparāntaḥ pāścātyā janapadāḥ|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.53.

Aparāntānām pāścātyānām jaya udyatair udyuktaiḥ|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.54.

Aparāntānām pāścātyānām janapadānām jaye udyataiḥ|

n. 374.

Harṣacarita 8. p. 333. l. 7–8

bhara-vaśa-viśṛyamāṇa-dhūli-dhavalair garbha-bheda-sūcita-sūci-saṃcaya-śucibhiḥ ketakī-vātaiḥ

Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha 6772.

*udeti ghana-maṇḍalī naṭati nīlakaṇṭh^āvalī
tadīd valati sarvato vahati ketakī-mārutaiḥ|
tath'āpi yadi nāgataḥ sa sakhi tatra manye 'dhunā
dadhāti makara-dhvajas truṭita-śiṅjinikaṃ dhanuḥ||*

n. 375.

Rāmāyaṇa 4.27.8–9

*megh^ôdara-vinirmuktāḥ kahlāra-sukha-śītalāḥ|
śakyam añjalibhiḥ pātum vātāḥ ketaki-gandhināḥ||
eṣa phull^ârjunāḥ śailāḥ ketakair adhivāsitaḥ|
Sugrīva iva śānt^ârir dhārābhir abhiṣicyate||*

Rāmāyaṇa 4.27.25.

*praharṣitāḥ ketaka-puspa-gandham āghrāya hr̥ṣṭā vana-nirjhareṣu|
prapāta-śabd^ākulitā gaj^êndrāḥ sārḍham mayūraiḥ sa-madā nadanti||*

n. 377.

Rājanighaṇṭu 10.67.ab

ketakī tīkṣṇa-puṣpā ca vi-phalā dhūli-puṣpikā|

n. 381.

Trikāṇḍaśeṣa 1.10.24.

Revā tu Pūrva-Gaṅgā syān Muralā tu Murandalā|

n. 383.

Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha 5277.ab

*āry'Ānaṅga mahā-vrataṃ vidadhatā Vindhy^ānilaiḥ pāraṇām
kṛtvā s^āṅgam akāri kena Muralā-kūle kaṭhoram tapah|*

n. 389.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.58.

tālīnām dve jātī khara-tālī rāja-tālī c'ēti rāja-grahaṇam|

n. 395.

Trikāṇḍaśeṣa 2.4.41.

*surañjano gopadalo rājatālas chatāphalaḥ|
karamaṭṭas tantusāro guvāko koṭa ity api||*

n. 404.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.57.

vyatirekaś ca Rāmād Raghoḥ abhyarthanā-balāt-kārābhyām|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.57.

na hi kar^ādānam abhyarthanayā kiṃ tu balāt-kāreṇ'aiva iti Rāmāt Raghor vyatirekaḥ|

n. 405.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.

*abdhir yācita upavās^ādinā Dāśarathaye setu-bandhan^ārthaṃ sthānaṃ vitatāra| Raghve
punar balim adād iti mahān viśeṣaḥ|*

n. 406.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.58.

kara-dānaṃ bhītyā| na tu yācñay'ēti Rāmād Raghor utkarṣaḥ|

ŚRĪṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 81.[†]

Paraśurāmād api nāyak^ōtkarṣa-kathanam|

VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 61.[†]

kara-dānād Rāmāt Paraśurāmād adhiko Raghuḥ|

n. 407.

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.61.

*prārthitaḥ samudraḥ Paraśurāmāya avakāśaṃ dadau kila vārtāyām – vārtā-sambhāvyayoḥ kila
– praticāṃ prānta-rāja-vyājena Raghve karam dadau|*

JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.63.

*kila udanvān samudraḥ abhyarthitaḥ san Rāmāya Paraśurāmāya avakāśaṃ dadau Raghve
karaṃ dadau|*

n. 408.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.58.

Aparāntānām samudra-madhya-deśa-vartitvāt tair datte kare samudra-dattatv^ōpacāraḥ|

n. 409.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.

*sāgara-samīpa-vāsinām janapadānām yo rājā tal-lakṣyeṇa| tan-mukhena hi mauktika-māṇiky-
^āḍau sāgara-je ratne labdhe karo datto 'bdhin'aiva bhavati|*

n. 410.

ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.57.

*udanvad-Aparānta-mahī-pālayor a-bheda-siddhau vyatireka-siddheḥ| tad-vyājena samudro
dattavān iti karasya prabhūty-ādir dhvanyate|*

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.57.

udanvad-Aparāntayor a-bheda-siddhi-mūlatvād vyatirekasya iti tayor saṅkaraḥ|

n. 411.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.

abdhir yācita upavās^ādinā Dāśarathaye setu-bandhan^ārtham sthānam vitatāra|

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.61.

yad vā upavās^ādinā prārthito 'bdhiḥ Dāśarathaye setu-bandhan^ārtham avakāśam dadau kila|

n. 424.

Vāyu-purāṇa 48.30.

*tasya dvīpasya vai pūrve tīre nada-nadī-pateḥ|
Gokarṇa-nāmadheyasya Śaṅkarasy'ālayam mahat||*

n. 430.

Vāyu-purāṇa Revākhaṇḍa 6.13–18.

*evam ukto Mahādeva vyadhunot pakṣa-pañjaram|
tāvat pañjara-madhy^ānte tasya pakṣād viniḥsṛtāḥ||
tāvanto deva-daity^ēndrāḥ pakṣābhyām tasya jajñire|
teṣām madhye punaḥ sā tu Narmadā bhramate sarit||
tataś c^ānyo mahā-śailo dṛśyate Bharat^arṣabha|
tribhiḥ kūtaiḥ su-vistīrṇaiḥ śṛṅgavān iva go-vṛṣaḥ||
Trikūṭas tu iti khyātaḥ sarva-ratnair vibhūṣitaḥ|*

tatas tasmāt Trikūṭāc ca plāvayanti mahīm yayau||
 Trikūṭi tena vikhyātā pitṛṇām trāyaṇi parā|
 dvitīyāc ca tato Gaṅgā vistīrṇā dharāṇi-tale||
 tṛtīyaṃ. ca tataḥ śṛṅgaṃ saptadhā khaṇḍaśo gatam|
 Jambūdvīpe tu saṃjātāḥ sapta te kulaparvatāḥ||

n. 446.

Mudrārākṣasa p. 124. l. 6–7

asti tāvac Chaka-Yavana-Kirāta-Kāmbōja-Pārasika-Bāhlika-prabhṛtibhiś

n. 447.

Pādatāḍitaka 1.64. p. 30.

Śaka-Yavana-Tukhāra-Pārasikair Magadha-Kirāta-Kaliṅga-Vaṅga-Kāśaiḥ|
 nagaram ati-mud[^]āyutaṃ samantān Mahiśaka-Colaka-Pāṇḍya-Keralaiś ca||

n. 469.

Brahma-purāṇa 19.15.c–18

tāsv <Bhārata-varṣasya nadiṣu> ime Kuru-Paṅcāla-madhya-deś[^]ādayo janāḥ||
 pūrva-deś[^]ādikās c'aiva Kāmarūpa-nivāsinaḥ|
 Paundrāḥ Kaliṅgā Magadhā dākṣiṇātyās ca sarvaśaḥ||
 tath'Āparāntyāḥ Saurāṣṭrāḥ Sūdr[^]Ābhīrās tath'Ārbudāḥ|
 Mārukā Mālavās c'aiva Pāriyātra-nivāsinaḥ||
 Sauvīrāḥ Saindhav[^]āpannāḥ Śālvāḥ Śākala-vāsinaḥ|
 Madrā Rāmās tath'Āmbaṣṭhāḥ Pārasik[^]ādayas tathā||

n. 470.

Altp. Insch. p. 33. § 1. AD

Ariyāramna xšāyaθiya vazrka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya Pārsā

Altp. Insch. p. 33. § 2. AC

θāti Ariyāramna xšāyaθiya iyam dahyāuṣ Pārsā tayām adam dārayāmi

n. 486.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.

atra liṅgaṃ tattva-jñānen'ēty upamāne 'pi mārga-śuddhi-kathanam|

n. 487.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.

tath'āpi samudra-laṅghana-niṣedha-darśi Raghur jala-yātrāṃ muktṛvā ati-davīyas'āpi sthala-vartmanā pratasthe iti bhāvah|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.

Pārasikān rājño jetuṃ sthala-vartmanā pratasthe| na tu nedi-ṣṭhen'āpi jala-pathena| samudra-yānasya niṣiddhatvād iti bhāvah|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.

tath'āpi Raghur samudra-yānasya pratiṣiddhatvād dūratarāṃ api nir-doṣam eva mārgam aṅgī-kṛtya prasthitavān ity arthah|

ŚRĪṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 81.^v

kena sthala-vartmanā samudra-laṅghana-doṣeṇa jala-prāyaṃ deśam parityajy'ēty arthah|

n. 488.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.

saṃyaminā h'īndriya-jaye tattva-jñānam eva nir-apāy^ōpāyatven'aṅgī-kriyate na tu vijigīṣuṇ'ēva sambhavad-apāyo 'n-ucita-viśaya-pravṛtta-kām^ādi-parityāgaḥ|

n. 489.

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.

tasmāt tat-tad-viśaya-gata-kṣudratva-kṣayaṣnutv^ādi-tattva-jñānen'aiva viśaya-nivṛttih|

n. 490.

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.59.

vayaṃ tu jaya-dvaye 'pi prakṛtasya mārgasya su-gamatvena mārg^āntarasya dur-gamatven'āpāta-siddhau su-gamatva-pratītyā ca paraspara-sādrśyaṃ taylor upamān^ōpameya-bhāve hetur iti brūmah|

n. 491.

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.63.

*caturviṃśati tattva-[pañca]viṃśati [vā] tattv[āni] teṣāṃ jñānena samyamo 'sy'āst'īti samyamī
iva mahā-bhūtāny ahaṃ-kāro buddhir a-vyaktam eva ca indriyāṇāṃ ca daśakam [pañ]ca c'ēndriya-
gocarāḥ [manas' c' aikam] iti caturviṃśati tattvāni|*

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.62.

*yathā praśasta-dhyāna-dhāraṇā-samādhimāñ śāntas cakṣur-ādīn'indriyāṇi sāṅkhyā-ōktānāṃ
caturviṃśates tattvānāṃ darśanena jetuṃ prayatate|*

n. 492.

Sāṅkhyakārikā 45.

*evam tattvābhyāsān n'āsmi na me n'āham ity a-pariśeṣam|
a-viparyayād viśuddhaṃ kevalam utpadyate jñānam||*

n. 494.

GAUḌAPĀDA comm. ad *SK* 45.

*evam uktena krameṇa pañcaviṃśati-tattvālocaṇābhyāsād iyaṃ prakṛtir ayaṃ puruṣa etāni
pañca-tan-mātr'ēndriya-mahā-bhūtān'īti puruṣasya jñānam utpadyate n'āsti n'āham eva bhavāmi
na me mama śarīraṃ tad yato 'ham anyah' śarīraṃ anyan n'āham ity a-pariśeṣam ahaṃ-kāra-
rahitam a-pariśeṣam a-viparyayād viśuddhaṃ viparyayah saṃśayo '-viparyayād a-saṃśayād
viśuddhaṃ kevalam tad eva n'ānyad ast'īti mokṣa-kāraṇam utpadyate 'bhivyaḥyate jñānam
pañcaviṃśati-tattva-jñānam puruṣasy'ēti|*

n. 497.

EI Vol. 5. No. 13. p. 104. l. 3.

*ambhodhi-pāre sva-cchandam Pārasinān taruṇa-yuvatibhir gīyate yasya <Kullotūṅga-Colasya>
kīrttiḥ*

n. 501.

ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.

madhu-madam iti madena tat-kārya-bhūto rāgo lakṣyate| ata eva bālātapāpamitiḥ|

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.64.

bāl^ātapatven'ārunimā āptih|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.

mada-śabdena mada-kārya-bhūto rāgo lakṣyate| anyathā bāl^ātap^ôpamān^ân-upapatteḥ|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.63.

bālatven'ārunim'ôktaḥ tato madhu-mada-sāmyam|

n. 502.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.63.

a-kāṇḍ^âbd^ôdgamaḥ

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.61.

a-kāle prāvṛḍ-vyatirikte kāle

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA, NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Rag* 4.60.

a-kālo varṣā-vyatirikta-kālāḥ

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.

varṣāsu padmānām a-sambhavāt a-kāl'ēty upāttam

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.64.

Aḥ Viṣṇuḥ tasya kālāḥ prāvṛḥ

n. 503.

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.60.

Yavana-deśānām ati-dūratvād rājñas tatr'āgamaṇam prati tad-deśyānām a-sambhāvanā ca dyotyate| atra Yavanīnām tad-bhayān madhu-pānaṇ na jātam iti vācyo 'rthaḥ|

ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 82.^r

tat-pati-vadhāt|

VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 84.^v

tāsām bhartr-vadhāt|

n. 511.

Mahābhārata 7.95.40.

dasyūnām sa-śiras-trāṇaiḥ śirobhir lūna-mūrdhajaḥ|
tatra tatra mahī kīrṇā vi-barhair aṇḍajair iva||

n. 522.

Harṣacarita 3. p. 144. l. 6–8

pratyagra-phala-rasa-pāna-sukha-supta-pathikair vana-devatā-dīyamān^āmṛta-rasa-prapā-grhair
iva drākṣā-maṇḍapaiḥ

n. 523.

Daśakumāracarita 6. p. 215. l. 5–8

amutr'āsan Yavanāḥ| te mām <Mitraguptam> uddhṛtya Rāmeṣu-nāmne nāvika-nāyakāya kathita-
vantaḥ ko 'py ayam āyasa-nigala-baddha eva jale labdhaḥ puruṣaḥ| so 'yam api siñcet sahasraṁ
drākṣānām kṣaṇen'aikena iti|

n. 524.

Harṣacarita 2. p. 71. l. 3–4

kṛṣṇ^ājina-vikīrṇa-śuśyat-puroḍāśīya-śyāmāka-taṇḍulāni

n. 531.

Mahābhārata 1.80.26; *Matsya-purāṇa* 34.30.

Yados tu Yādavā jātās Turvasor Yavanāḥ sutāḥ|
Druhyor api sutā Bhojā Anos tu Mleccha-jātayaḥ||

n. 533.

ARUṆAGIRNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.66.

Sindhuh Kāśmīreṣu kā-cin nadī|

JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.72.

tasya Raghoḥ vājinaḥ Sindhu-tira-viceṣṭitaiḥ kṛtvā Sindhu-nadī-pulina-loṭanaiḥ bhagna-
kuṅkuma-kesarān skandhān dudhuvuḥ dhūtayaṁ āsuḥ|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.67.

Sindhur nāma Kāśmīra-deśeṣu kaś-cin nada-viśeṣaḥ|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.66.

Sindhuh Kāśmīra-deśe kā-cin nadī|

n. 536.

Mahābhārata 1.90.46.

Pratīpaḥ khalu Śaibyām upayame Sunandām nāma|
tasyām putrān utpādayām āsa Devāpim Śaṁtanuṁ Bāhlikam c'ēti|

Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 12.9.3.3. p. 952.

tād u ha Bāhlikaḥ Prātipīyāḥ śuśrāva|

n. 538.

Mahābhārata 5.147.26–27

tataḥ pravayathit^ātm'āsau putra-śoka-samanvitaḥ|
mamāra taṁ <Pratīpam> mṛtaṁ drṣtvā Devāpiḥ saṁśrito vanam||
Bāhlika mātula-kule tyaktvā rājyaṁ vyavasthitaḥ|
pitṛ-bhrātṛn parityajya prāptavān puram ṛddhimat||

n. 553.

Kāvya-mīmāṃsā 3. p. 8.

*tataś ca sa <kāvya-puruṣaḥ> Pañcālān pratyuccacāla yatra Pāñcāla-Śūrasena-Hastināpura-
Kāśmīra-Vāhika-Bāhlika-Vāhlavey^ādayo janapadāḥ|*

n. 557.

Mahābhārata 8.30.30.

kadā vā ghoṣikā gāthāḥ punar gāsyanti Śākale|
gavyasya tṛptā māṁsasya pītvā gauḍaṁ mah^āsavam||

n. 563.

Vaṃśa-brāhmaṇa 1.18–19

*Ānandajaś Cāndhanāyanaḥ Śāmbāc Chārkarākṣyāt Kāmbojāc c'Ōpamanyavāt||
Śāmbaḥ Śārkarākṣyaḥ Kāmbojaś c'Aupamanyavo Madrakārāc Chauṅgāyaneḥ||*

n. 571.

Nirukta 2.2. p. 161. l. 11–12

śavatir gati-karmā Kambojeṣv eva bhāṣyate|

n. 574.

Jātakatthavaṇṇanā 22.6.[543.]903. p. 208.

*kiṭṭhā paṭaṅgā uragā ca bhekā hantvā kimiṃ sujḥhati makkhikā ca|
ete hi dhammā an-ariya-rūpā Kambojakānaṃ vitathā bahunna ti||*

n. 588.

Harṣacarita 2. p. 73. l. 4–5

hima-dagdha-sakala-kamalinī-kopen'ēva Himālay^ābhimukhīm yātrām adād aṃśu-mālī|

n. 590.

ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 83.^r

jītān tān eva pāścātyān ratha-puraḥsarān agre-gān kṛtvā|

n. 591.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.69.

*Raghur jetum a-śakya udīcyān ev'ābhibhūtān syandan^āgra-gāmīno vidhāy'Ōttarāpathaṃ nāma
deśa-viśeṣaṃ prāvīkṣat|*

n. 592.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.69.

*Aurv^ānal^ōpamānena yath'ābdhīm Vāḍavād anyo na praviśati tath'Ōttarāpathaṃ tasmād
anya ity uktam bhavati|*

n. 596.

Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha 5979.

*indīvar^ākṣi tava tīvra-kaṭākṣa-bāna-pāta-vraṇe dvitayam auṣadham eva manye|
ekam tav'ādhara-sudhā-rasa-pānam anyad uttuṅga-pīna-kuca-kuṅkuma-paṅka-lepaḥ||*

Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha 8007.

*etair jātaiḥ kim iha bahubhir bhogibhiḥ kim tu manye
mānyaḥ ko 'pi prabhavati jagaty eka-śeṣaḥ sa śeṣaḥ|
yasmin Gauri-prthu-kuca-taṭi-kuṅkuma-sthāsak^āṅke
yena Sthānor urasi rahito hāra-vallī-vilāsaḥ||*

Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha 8011.

*etau dvau Daśakaṇṭha-kaṇṭha-kadalī-kāntāra^āti-cchidau
Vaidehī-kuca-kumbha-kuṅkuma-rajah-sāndr^āruṇ^āṅk^āṅkitau|
loka-trāṇa-vidhāna-sādhu-savana-prārambha-yūpau bhujau
deyāstām uru-vikramau Raghu-pateḥ śreyāṃsi bhūyāṃsi vaḥ||*

n. 599.

ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 83.^v

tatra deśe patyau pramīte striyo nakhaiḥ kapolaṃ dārayant'iti jātīḥ|

VAIDYĀŚRĪGARBHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 62.^v

vaidhava-strīṇāṃ kapola-pāṭanam iti Hūnānāṃ kula-dharmaḥ|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.71.

pati-vadhāc ca bhāryā śocantī kuca-kaca-kapolān nakhair dārayati|

n. 600.

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.71.

*tatra Hūna-deśa-nṛp^āvarodhānāṃ kapolayoh pāṭalaṃ varṇam ādiśat'iti bhartr-vadhāt kapola-
tādanād ity arthaḥ bhartrsu vyakta-vikramaṃ Raghu-ceṣṭitaṃ babhūva|*

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.70.

tāsāṃ kapoleṣu pāṭalasya pāṭalimnas tādan^ādi-kr̥t^ārūṇasya'ādeśy upadeśakam babhūva|

n. 601.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.67.

Hūṇa-yodheṣu astam upānīteṣu sphuṭi-kṛta-śakti Raghor ācaritaṃ tad-yoṣitānām an-avarat^âśru-pāta-janitaṃ pātala-varṇaṃ kapole nyastavad ity arthaḥ|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.67.

bharṭṛṣu nihateṣu santata-gaṇitābhir aśru-dhāribhiḥ svataḥ śvetam kapola-sthalaṃ raktam abhūd ity arthaḥ|

n. 610.

Altp. Insch. p. 132. § 10. AB

daraniyam hacā Spardā utā hacā Bāxtriya abariya, taya idā akariya

n. 611.

Altp. Insch. p. 132. § 11. AB

rdatam utā asā dāru hacā Mudrāyā abariya

n. 623.

Meghadūta 56.

*śabdāyante madhuram anilaiḥ kīcakāḥ pūryamānāḥ
saṃraktābhis Tripura-vijayo gīyate kiṃnarībhiḥ|
nihrādī te muraja iva cet kandarāsu dhvaniḥ syāt
saṃgīt^ârtho nanu Paśupates tatra bhāvī samastah||*

n. 625.

Mahābhārata 2.48.5–7

*kṣṇāṃl lalāmāṃś camarāṇ śuklāṃś c'ānyāṇ śaśi-prabhān|
Himavat-puspa-jaṃ c'aiva svādu kṣaudraṃ tathā bahu||
uttarebhyaḥ Kurubhyaś c'āpy apodhaṃ mālyam ambubhiḥ|
uttarād api Kailāsād oṣadhīḥ su-mahā-balāḥ||
Pārvatīyā balim c'ānyam āhr̥tya pranatāḥ sthitāḥ|
a-jāta-śatror nr̥pater <Yudhiṣṭhirasya> dvāri tiṣṭhanti vāritāḥ||*

n. 632.

Mahābhārata 2.25.6.*12.74–79

*Meru-Mandarayor madhye Śailodām abhito nadīm|
ye te kīcaka-veṇūnām chāyām ramyām upāsate|
Khaṣāñ Jhaṣāṃś ca Nadyotān Praghasān Dīrghaveṇikān|
Paśupāṃś ca Kuṇindāṃś ca Taṇkaṇān Paraṭaṇkaṇān|
etān samastāñ jivā ca kare ca viniveśya ca|
ratnāny ādāya sarvebhyo Mālyavantam tato yayau <Arjunaḥ>|*

Mahābhārata 2.48.2–3

*Meru-Mandarayor madhye Śailodām abhito nadīm|
ye te kīcaka-veṇūnām chāyām ramyām upāsate||
Khaṣā Ekāśanājyohāḥ Pradarā Dīrghaveṇavaḥ|
Paśupāś ca Kuṇindāś ca Taṇgaṇāḥ Parataṇgaṇāḥ||*

n. 634.

Mahābhārata 2.25.6.*12.95.

Śvetaparvatam āsādy jivā Parvata-vāsinah|

n. 636.

Mahābhārata 1.89.33–35

*cālayan vasudhām c'aiva balena caturaṅginā|
abhyayāt tam <Samvaranam> ca Pāncālyo vijitya tarasā mahīm|
akṣauhiṇībhir daśabhiḥ sa enam samare jayat||
tataḥ sa-dāraḥ s^āmātyaḥ sa-putraḥ sa-suhṛj-janaḥ|
rājā Samvaranaś tasmāt palāyata mahā-bhayāt||
Sindhora nadasya mahato nikuṇje nyavasat tadā|
Nadīviśaya-paryante Parvatasya samīpataḥ|
tatr'āvasan bahūn kālān Bhāratā dur-gam^āśritaḥ||*

n. 637.

Aṣṭādhyāyī 4.3.90–91

abhijanaś ca| āyudha-jīvibhyaś chaḥ Parvate|

n. 639.

Mudrārākṣasa p. 124. l. 7–8

*Kāmbōja-Pārasika-Bāhlika-prabhṛtibhiś Cānakyaṃ ati-parigrhītaiś Caṃdragupta-Parvat^eśvara-
balair udadhibhir iva pralay^ôccalita-salilaiḥ samantād uparuddham Kusumapuram|*

n. 640.

Kuvalayamālā 430. p. 282. l. 6.

*tīrammi tiya [Candabhāya] payadā Pavvaīyā nāma rayana-sohillā| jāttha t̥thiēṇa bhuttā puhai
siri-Torarāēṇa||*

n. 649.

Mahābhārata 2.47.6.*33.22.

Yavanā hayān upādāya Pārvatīyān mahā-javān||

n. 650.

Mahābhārata 7.35.36–39

*Vanāyu-jān Pārvatīyān Kāmbōj^Āraṭṭa-Bāhlikān|
sthira-vāladhi-karṇ^ākṣāṇ javanān sādhu-vāhinaḥ||
sv-ārūdhāṇ śikṣitair yodhaiḥ śakty-r̥ṣṭi-prāsa-yodhibhiḥ|
vidhvasta-cāmara-kuthān viprakīrṇa-prakīrṇakān||
nirasta-jihvā-nayanān niṣkīrṇān †traya-kṛd-ghanān†|
hat^ārohān bhinna-bhāṇḍān kravyāda-gaṇa-modanān||
nikṛtta-varma-kavacāṇ śakṛn-mūtr^âsrg-āplutān|
nipātayann aśva-varāṃs tāvakān so <Abhimanyuḥ> 'bhyarocata||*

Mahābhārata 7.97.26.

*Vanāyu-jān Pārvatīyān Kāmbōj^Āraṭṭa-Bāhlikān|
tathā haya-varān rājan nijaghne tatra Sātyakiḥ||*

n. 651.

Harivaṃśa 23.132.cd

Gāndhāra-deśa-jās c'aiva turagā vājināṃ varāḥ||

Mahābhārata 7.6.3.

prapakṣaḥ Śakunis teṣāṃ pravair haya-sādibhiḥ|
yayau Gāndhārakaiḥ sārddham vi-mala-prāsa-yodhibhiḥ||

Mahābhārata 9.27.43.

tato Gāndhārakair guptaṃ prṣṭhair aśvair jaye dhṛtam|
āsasāda raṇe yāntaṃ Sahadevo 'tha Saubalam||

n. 654.

Rāmāyaṇa 7.91.9–10

hateṣu teṣu vireṣu Bharataḥ Kaikeyi-sutaḥ|
niveśayām āsa tadā samṛddhe dve pur^ōttame|
Takṣaṃ Takṣaśilāyāṃ tu Puṣkaraṃ Puṣkarāvatau||
Gandharva-deśo ruciro Gāndhāra-viśayaś ca saḥ|
varṣaiḥ pañcabhir ākīrṇo viśayair nāgarais tathā||

n. 656.

Mahābhārata 2.24.14.

<Arjunaḥ> vijitya c'āhave śūrān Pārvatīyān mahārathān|
dhvajinyā vyajayad rājan puram Paura-vara-kṣitam||

n. 670.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA, NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.76.

pārvatīyaiḥ parvata-nivāsibhiḥ| parvatāś ca iti chaḥ| gaṇair iti Utsavasanket^ākhyais saptabhis
saṅghaiḥ|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.77.

parvate bhavaiḥ parvatīyaiḥ| parvatāc ca iti cha-pratyayaḥ| gaṇair Utsavasamket^ākhyaiḥ
saptabhiḥ saha|

n. 676.

Mahābhārata 2.24.15.cd

gaṇān Utsavasamketān ajayat sapta Pāṇḍavaḥ <Arjunaḥ>|

n. 684.

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.74.

*tataḥ aśvāḥ sādhanāni yasya saḥ Himavantam śailam āruroha aśva-khur^ōddhūtaiḥ dhātu-
reṇubhiḥ tasya kūtān vardhayann iva dhātubhiḥ manahsil^ādyaiḥ|*

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.71.

uddhūtaiḥ aśva-khur^ōddhūtaiḥ dhātūnām gairik^ādīnām reṇubhis tat-kūtāṃs tasya śṛṅgāni|

n. 685.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.70.

*aśva-sādhanaḥ aśva-prāya-bala ity arthaḥ| na tv aśv^aika-balaḥ| pattinām kiṃ punar nyāya-
siddhatvāt| gaja-rathayos tv a-bhūmitvād alpatvam boddhavyam| gaja-varṣma kirātebhyaḥ iti
vaksyati ca|*

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.70.

aśva-sādhanaḥ aśva-prāya-balaḥ|

n. 689.

Raghuvaṃśa 6.3.

*Vaidarbha-nirdiṣṭam atho kumāraḥ <Ajah> kl̥ptena sopāna-pathena mañcam|
śilā-vibhaṅgair myga-rāja-sāvas tuṅgaṃ nag^ōtsaṅgam iv'āruroha||*

n. 692.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.72.

*yathā jānapadāḥ stuvanto vādyāni ca vādayantaḥ sopāyanā rājānam yāntam upatiṣṭhante
tadvad viśiṣṭā maruto 'p'iti dhvanyate|*

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.72.

*yathā rājānam gacchantam jānapadāḥ stuvanto vādyāni ca vādayantaḥ sopāyanāḥ sevante tadvad
atra maruto 'p'ity upamā-dhvaniḥ|*

n. 693.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.73.

Gaṅgā-śikariṇaḥ śitalā ity arthe|

n. 694.

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 4.76.

Bhāgīrathyāḥ śīkarāḥ yeṣāṃ santi iti te|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.76.

Gaṅgā-jala-kaṇa-yuktāś ca|

n. 698.

Rājanighaṇṭu 10.35.

*nameruḥ surapunnāgaḥ sureṣṭaḥ suraparnikā|
suratuṅgaś ca pañc^āhvah punnāga-guṇa-samyutaḥ|*

n. 701.

Skanda—purāṇa Himavatkhaṇḍa 11.122.

*pādapānāṃ ca sarveṣāṃ namerur uttamo bhavet|
tat-phalāni ca jānīhi rudrākṣān Rudra-vigrahān||*

n. 702.

Kumārasaṃbhava 1.54.

*gaṇā nameru-prasav^āvatamsā bhūrja-tvacaḥ sparśavatīr vasānāḥ|
manaḥśilā-vicchuritā niṣeduh śaileya-naddheṣu śilā-taleṣu||*

n. 703.

Kumārasaṃbhava 3.43.

*drṣṭi-pradīpaṃ parihṛtya tasya Kāmaḥ puraḥ-Śukram iva prayāṇe|
prānteṣu saṃsakta-nameru-śākhaṃ dhyān^āspadam bhūta-pater viveśa||*

n. 704.

Kumārasaṃbhava 4.53.

*sa <Śivah> kṛtti-vāsās tapase yat^ātmā Gaṅgā-prapāt^ōkṣita-devadāru|
prasthaṃ Him^ādrer mṛga-nābhi-gandhi kim-cit kvaṇat-kimnaram adhyuvāsa||*

n. 707.

Meghadūta 104.

*bhittvā sadyaḥ kisalaya-putān devadāru-drumāṇām
ye tat-kṣīra-sruti-surabhayo dakṣiṇena pravṛttāḥ|
ālīṅgyante guṇavati mayā te tuṣār^ādri-vātāḥ
pūrva-sprṣtam yadi kila bhaved aṅgam ebhis tav'ēti||*

Raghuvamśa 2.37.

*kaṇḍūyamānena kaṭam kadā-cid vanya-dvipen'ōnmathitā tvag asya <devadāroḥ>|
ath'ainam adres tanayā śūsoca Senānyam ālīḍham iv'āsura^āstraiḥ||*

n. 721.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.83.

*Raghur Him^ādrāv a-kampyam bahulam yaśaḥ-puñjam paristhāpy'āvāruḥṣat| Rāvaṇ^ōtkṣiptasya
śailasya Kailāsasya lajjām grhṇann iva| sa hy aham Rāvaṇena tulita iti tānavam bheje|*

n. 722.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.79.

*atra pratīyamān^ōcchrāya-dhāvalyayor yaśo-rāśi-Kailāsayor a-kṣobhyatva-tulitatvābhyām vya-
tīrekaḥ tad-dhetukā ca hriyam ādadhāna iv'ēty utprekṣā iti saṅkaraḥ|*

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.80.

*sa Raghus tatra Him^ādrāv a-kṣobhyam a-dhṛsyam yaśo-rāśim niveśya nidhāya| Paulastyena
Rāvaṇena tulitasya cālitasy'ādreḥ Kailāsasya hriyam ādadhāno janayann iva|*

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.79.

*atra yaśo-rāśer aunnatya-dhāvalyābhyām Kailāsa-sāmye saty api yaśo-rāśer a-kṣobhyatvāt tulitāt
Kailāsād vyatīrekaḥ tad-dhetukā c'ōtprekṣ'ēti saṅkaraḥ|*

n. 723.

JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 4.86.

Paulastya-tulitasya adreḥ parvatasya śriyam ādadāna iva grhṇan iva|

ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* f. 85.^v

Paulastya-tulitasya adreḥ Kailāsasya śriyam ādadāna iva grhṇan iva|

n. 724.

Kāvya-mīmāṃsā 15. p. 83.

*a-sato guṇasya nibandhanam yathā| yaśo-hāsa-prabhṛteḥ śauklyam a-yaśasaḥ pāpa-bhṛteś ca
kāṛṣṇyam krodh-ānūrāga-prabhṛteś ca raktatvam|*

n. 728.

Meghadūta 58.

*gatvā c'ordhvaṃ Daśamukha-bhuj-ōcchvāsita-prastha-saṃdheḥ
Kailāsasya tridaśa-vanitā-darpaṇasy'ātithiḥ syāḥ|
śṛṅg-ōcchrāyāiḥ kumuda-viśadair yo vitatya sthitaḥ khaṃ
rāśi-bhūtaḥ pratiniśam iva Tryambakasy'ātṭa-hāsaḥ||*

Raghuvamśa 12.89.

*jetāraṃ loka-pālānāṃ sva-mukhair arcit-Eśvaram|
Rāmas tulita-Kailāsam arātiṃ bahv amanyata||*

n. 730.

EI Vol. 10. No. 1.20. p. 8. l. 3.

*<Śivasya> yasy'āṅguṣṭha-bhar-ākṛāntaḥ Kailāsaḥ sa-Daśānanaḥ|
Pātālam agaman mūrdhnā Śrī-nidhis tam bibharti a-jam||*

n. 731.

Priyadarśikā 1.2. p. 4.

*Kailās-ādrāv udaste paricalati gaṇeṣ'ūllasat-kautukeṣu
krodaṃ mātuh Kumāre viśati viśamuci prekṣamāne sa-roṣam|
pād-āvaṣṭambha-sīdad-vapuṣi Daśamukhe yāti Pātāla-mūlam
kruddho 'py āśliṣṭa-mūrtir bhaya-ghanam Umayā pātu tuṣṭaḥ Śivo naḥ||*

n. 732.

Harṣacarita 6. p. 266. l. 12–13

*Harer Hara-pada-bhara-namita-Kailāsa-giri-gurubhiḥ pāda-nyāsair guru-bhāra-grahaṇa-garvam
urvyaḥ saṃharann iva*

n. 733.

Brahma-purāṇa 110.102–103

dig-iśvarāṇ jitya sur^ārcitasya Kailāsam āndolayataḥ Pur^āreḥ|
aṅguṣṭha-kṛty'aiva Rasātalād adho gatasya tasy'aiva Daśānanasya||
ālūna-kāyasya giram niśamya vihasya devyā saha dattam iṣṭam|
tasmai prasannaḥ kupito 'pi tadvad a-yukta-dāt'āsi Mahēśvara tvam||

n. 734.

Śiva-purāṇa 7.1.30.46–47

tathā rakṣo^dhipaḥ sāksād Rāvaṇo bala-garvitaḥ|
uddharan sva-bhujair dīrghaiḥ Kailāsam girim ātmanaḥ||
tad-āgo 'sahamānasya deva-devasya śūlinaḥ|
pad^aṁguṣṭha-parispandān mamaṁja mṛdito bhuvi||

n. 735.

Anargharāghava 7.46. p. 339.

giriḥ Kailāso 'yam Daśavadana-keyūra-vilasan
maṇi-śreṇī-patṛ^āṅkura-makara-mudr^āṅkita-śilāḥ|
amuṣminn āruhya sphaṭika-maya-sarv^āṅga-vi-male
nirīkṣante yakṣāḥ phaṇi-pati-purasy'āpi caritam||

n. 736.

RUCIPATI comm. ad *AR* 7.46.

amuṣmin Kailāse sphaṭika-maya-sarv^āṅga-vi-male āruhya yakṣāḥ phaṇi-pati-purasy'āpi Vāsuki-
nagarasya Pātālasy'āpi vyavahāraṁ paśyanti| aty-uccatvāt| yad vā ati-vi-mala-sphaṭika-tejasā
cakṣus tejaḥ-prasaṇasy'ā-pratibandhād iti bhāvah|

n. 740.

EI Vol. 12. No. 13. p. 73. l. 5–6

Dhātrīm ucchikṣipsor ambunidhe kaṭa-kola-rūpasya|
cakra-bhṛtaḥ <Viṣṇoḥ> sūnur abhūt pāṛthiva-vṛndārako Narakah||

EI Vol. 30. No. 47. p. 298. l. 2–5

<Viṣṇunā> yen'ēyam vayam vasudhā varāha-pauṣā sthityai prajānām purā gupt'ōddhṛtya (em. SIRCAR 1953–1954, °dhri° inscrip.) *dayālunā priyatayā pottre ca samsthāpitā| tasy'ābhūt suta*

uttamo 'mrta-bhujān tāpāya (em. SIRCAR 1953–1954, °*yaṃ* inscrip.) *yaḥ śaktimān nāmn'āsau*
Narakah kṣitau kṣiti-bhujān rā[jāṃ rā]j^ādhirājo vibhuh||

n. 741.

Mahābhārata 5.47.74.

Prāgjyotiṣaṃ nāma babhūva durgam puram ghoram asurāṇām a-sahyam|
mahā-balo Narakas tatra Bhaumo jahār'Ādityā maṇi-kunḍale śubhe||

Mahābhārata 12.326.84.c–85.b

vasānas <Kṛṣṇaḥ> tatra vai puryām <Dvārakāyām> Aditer vi-priyam-karam|
hanisye Narakaṃ Bhaumaṃ Muram Pīṭham ca dānavam|

Rāmāyaṇa 4.41.25.

tatra Prāgjyotiṣaṃ nāma jātarūpa-mayaṃ puram|
yasmin vasati duṣṭ^ātmā Narako nāma dānavah||

n. 745.

EI Vol. 12. No. 13. p. 73. l. 7–8

Bhagadattaḥ khyāta-jayaṃ Vijaya[m] yudhi yaḥ samāhvayata|
tasy'ātmaja[h] kṣat^ārer vajra-gatir Vajradatta-nām'ābhūt||

EI Vol. 30. No. 47. p. 298. l. 5–7

dig-danti-hasta-sphuṭa-karkaśe[na] jivvā [kare]ṇ'āhava-mūrdhni Śakram|
tan-mātrto yo vijahāra kunḍale tasy'ā[tma]jaḥ śrī-Bhagadatta-nāmā||
trpt^ (v. l. tad-, nrp^) ātmajo Vajra-dhara-prabhāvaḥ śrī-Vajradattaḥ kṣitipo mah^ātmā|

n. 746.

Mahābhārata 7.29.1.

priyam Indrasya satatam sakḥ'āyam a-mit^aujasam|
hatvā Prāgjyotiṣaṃ Pārthaḥ pradakṣiṇam avartata||

n. 749.

Mahābhārata 15.26.10.

tathā Śail^ālayo rājā Bhagadatta-pitāmahaḥ|
tapo-balen'aiva nrpo Mah^ēndra-sadanam gataḥ||

n. 750.

Mahābhārata 7.28.22.d*216.1–6

*y'ēyaṃ loka-dharā devī sarva-bhūta-dharā Dharā|
sa-kāmā loka-kartāraṃ Nārāyaṇam upasthitā||
sa saṃgamyā tayā sārdaṃ prītas tasyai varam dadau|
sā vavre Viṣṇu-sadṛśaṃ putram astraṃ ca vaiṣṇavam||
babhūva ca sutas tasyāṃ Narako nāma viśrutaḥ|
astraṃ ca vaiṣṇavam tasmai dadau Nārāyaṇaḥ svayam||*

n. 751.

Mahābhārata 5.19.14–15

*tath'aiva Dhārtarāṣṭrasya haṛṣaṃ samabhivardhayan|
Bhagadatto mahī-pālāḥ senām akṣauhiṇīm dadau||
tasya Cīnaiḥ Kirātaiś ca kāñcanaḥ iva saṃvṛtam|
babhau balam an-ādhrīyaṃ karṇikāra-vanam yathā||*

n. 752.

Mahābhārata 2.28.8.d*296.1–2

*Bhagadattaṃ mahā-bāhuḥ kṣatriyaṃ Narak^ātmajam|
Arjunāya karam dattaṃ śrutvā tatra nyavartata <Sahadevaḥ>||*

n. 754.

EI Vol. 12. No. 13. p. 73. l. 9–11

*vaṃśyeṣu tasya <Vajradattasya> nrpatiṣu varṣa-sahasra-trayaṃ padam avāpya|
yāteṣu deva-bhūyaṃ kṣit^iśvara[h] Puśyavarm'ābhūt||
māts[y]a-nyāya-virahita[h] prakāśa-ratna[h] suto dva-ratha-laghu[h]|
pañcama iva hi samudra[h] Samudravarm'ābhava[t] tasya||*

n. 759.

Harṣacarita 7. p. 295. l. 1–11

*mah^ātmanas <Narakasya> tasy'ānvaye Bhagadatta-Puspadatta-Vajradatta-prabhṛtiṣu vyatīteṣu
bahuṣu Mer^ūpameṣu mahatsu mahī-pāleṣu prapautro mahā-rāja-Bhūti-varmaṇaḥ pautraś
Candramukhavarmaṇaḥ putro devasya Kailāsa-sthira-sthiteḥ Sthitivarmaṇaḥ Susthiravarmā
nāma mahā-rāj^ādhirājo jajñe tejasām rāsir mrgāṅka iti yaṃ janā jaguḥ| yo 'yam agra-
jen'ēv'ājāyata saḥ'aiv'āhaṅkāreṇa| yaś ca bāla eva prītyā dvijātīn a-prītyā c'ārātīn samagrān*

*pratigrahān agrāhayat| yatra c'āti-dur-labhaṃ lavaṇ^ālaya-saṃbhūtāyāḥ param mādhyam
abhūl Lakṣmyāḥ| tathā ca yo vāhinī-nāthānāṃ śaṅkhāñ jahāra na ratnāni pṛthivyāḥ sthairyaṃ
jagrāha na karam avanibhṛtāṃ gauravam ādatta na naiṣṭhuryam| tasya Sugrāta-nāmno
devasya devyāṃ Śyāmādevyāṃ bhāskara-dyutir Bhāskaravarm'ā-para-nāmā tanayaḥ Śaṃtanor
Bāgīrathyāṃ Bhīṣma iva kumāraḥ samabhavat|*

n. 762.

EI Vol. 31. No. 10. p. 69.

*mahā-rāj^ādhirāja-srī-Surendravarmāṇā kṛtam
bhagavataḥ Balabhadra-svāmināya idaṃ guham|*

n. 770.

Kālikā-purāṇa 82.6–7

*tasya <Śaṃtanor> bhāryā mahā-bhāgā Amogh^ākhyā mahā-satī|
Hiraṇyagarbhasya munes Tṛṇabindu-āśram^ōdbhavā||
tayā sārḍham sa Kailāsaṃ Maryādā-parvate vasan|
Lohit^ākhyasya sarasas tīre vai gandha-mādane||*

n. 838.

Arthaśāstra 9.1.18.

*tasyāṃ <pṛthivyāṃ> Himavat-samudr^āntaram udicīnaṃ yojana-sahasra-parimāṇaṃ tiryak
cakravartī-kṣetram||*

n. 839.

Kāvya-darśa 1.16.

*nagar^ārṇava-śail^artu-candr^ārka^odaya-varṇanaiḥ|
udyāna-salila-kṛdā-madhu-pāna-rat^ōtsavaiḥ||*

n. 856.

Harṣacarita 7. p. 294. l. 15–16

*purā mahā-varāha-saṃparka-saṃbhūta-garbhayā bhagavatya Bhuvā Narako nāma sūnur asāvi
Rasātale*

Kālikā-purāṇa 36.8–9

garbha-samsthaṃ mahā-vīraṃ <Narakam> jñātvā Brahm[^]ādayaḥ surāḥ|
varāha-putraṃ dur-dharṣaṃ mahā-bala-parākramam||
garbha eva tadā devāḥ śaktyā dadhrus ciraṃ dṛḍham|
yathā kāle 'pi samprāpte no garbhāj jāyate sa ca||

Kālikā-purāṇa 36.29–30

tvayā <Viṣṇunā> varāha-rūpeṇa malinī kāmītā purā|
tena kāmēna kuṣau me <Bhuvah> yo garbho <Narakah> 'yaṃ tvay'āhitaḥ||
kāle prāpte 'pi garbho 'yaṃ na pracyavati Mādhava|
kaṭhora-garbhā ten'āhaṃ pīdit'āsmi dine dine||

n. 874.

Harivaṃśa 30.11.

yaḥ <Viṣṇuḥ> purāṇe purāṇ[^]ātmā vārāhaṃ vapur āsthitaḥ|
viṣāṇ[^]āgreṇa vasudhām ujjahār'āri-sūdanaḥ||

n. 875.

Harivaṃśa 30.13.

yena <Viṣṇunā> saimhaṃ vapuḥ kṛtvā dvidhā kṛtvā ca tat punaḥ|
pūrva-daityo mahā-vīryo Hiranyakaśipur bataḥ||

n. 883.

CII Vol. 5. No. 8. p. 35. l. 1.

Rāma-giri-svāminaḥ pāda-mūlād

n. 884.

Meghadūta 1.

kaś-cit kāntā-viraha-guruṇā sv[^]ādhikāra-pramattaḥ|
śāpeṇ'āstaṃ gamita-mahimā varṣa-bhogyena bhartuḥ|
yakṣaś cakre Janaka-tanayā-snāna-puṇy[^]ōdakeṣu
snigdha-cchāyā-taruṣu vasatiṃ Rāma-gīry-āśrameṣu||

Meghadūta 9.

*āpṛcchasva priya-sakham amum tuṅgam āliṅgya śailam
vandyaiḥ pumsām Raghupati-padaḥ ankitam mekhalāsu|
kāle kāle bhavati bhavatā yasya saṁyogam etya
sneha-vyaktiś cira-viraha-jam muñcato bāṣpam uṣṇam||*

n. 909.

Raghuvamśa 16.9.

*tam <Kuśam> abravīt sā <Ayodhyā> guruṇ'ān-avadyā yā nīta-paurā sva-pad^ōnmukhena|
tasyāḥ puraḥ samprati vīta-nātham jānihi rājann adhidevatām mām||*

n. 914.

Setubandha 2.2.a

gaṇassa va paḍivimbam

n. 916.

CII Vol. 3. No. 35. p. 152–153 l. 3–4

*ṣaṣṭyā sahasraiḥ Sagar^ātmajānām khāta[h] kha-tulyām rucam ādadhānaḥ|
asyōdapān^ādhīpateś cirāya yasānsi pāyāt payasām vidhātā||*

n. 922.

Viṣṇu–purāṇa 2.8.24.c–25

*aho-rātram viśaty ambhas tamaḥ prākāśya-śīlavat||
ātāmrā hi bhavanty āpo divā nakta-praveśanāt|
dīnam viśati c'aiv'āmbho bhāskare 'stam upāgate|
tasmāc chuklī-bhavanty āpo naktam ahnaḥ praveśanāt||*

n. 923.

Kumārasambhava 8.42.

*so 'yam <Sūryaḥ> ānata-śīrodharair hayaiḥ karṇa-cāmara-vighattit^ekṣaṇaiḥ|
Astam eti yuga-bhinna-kesaraiḥ samnidhāya divasam mah^ōdadhau||*

n. 924.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.4.

arka-maricayo 'smād abdher apādānād garbham am-mayaṃ dadhati| vṛṣṭy-artham ity arthaḥ|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.4.

udadheḥ arka-maricayaḥ sūrya-raśmayo 'mṛt^ākhyāḥ prāvṛṣi jalam ādāya am-mayaṃ garbham bibhrati garbhītā bhavanti|

n. 925.

Raghuvaṃśa 10.59.

tābhir <Daśarathasya patnībhiḥ> garbhaḥ prajā-bhūtyai dadhre dev^āṃśa-sambhavaḥ| saurībhir iva nāḍībhir amṛt^ākhyābhir am-mayaḥ||

n. 926.

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.4.

vārsikyaś catuś-śataṃ sūrya-raśmayaḥ asmāt samudrāt garbham dadhati bibhrati| anena saubhāgya-pratītiḥ| maricīnām strītvāt|

n. 933.

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.

abdhi-pakṣe| kadā-cid ullasati kadā-cic chuṣyati kadā-cin mathyate|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.

kadā-cit kil'āyam ullasati| kadā-cin mathyata iti| tathā daśa diśo mähātmyen'āpūrya sthitam|

n. 934.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.

loka-prasiddhāṃ pralay^ādy-avasthāṃ mauktika-candr^ādi-sva-kārya-rūpām avasthāṃ ca|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm ad *Ragh* 13.5.

pralay^ôdvelat^ādy-avasthāṃ sva-kārya-bhūta-maṇi-mukt^ādy-avasthāṃ ca|

n. 935.

JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.

tām tām avasthām pūrv^ôktām avasthām pratipadyamānam prāpyamānam|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.

avasthām a-kṣobh^ādy-avasthām|

n. 936.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.

Viṣṇu-pakṣe matsy^ādy-avasthām pratipadyamānam it'īdṛktay'ân-avadhāraṇe betuḥ|

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.

tām tām loka-prasiddhām matsya-kūrm^ādi-rūpām avasthām pratipadyamānam bhajamānam|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.

Viṣṇu-pakṣe matsya-kūrm^ādy-avasthām|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.

*atha vā varāha-narasiṃh^ādi-prādur-bhāva-rūpā avasthāḥ kṣity-ādibhir mūrtibhiś ca daśa diśo
vyāptās tena|*

n. 937.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.

Viṣṇu-pakṣe sattv^ādy-avasthām|

n. 938.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.5.

*īśvarasy'āpy evaṃ-vidham eva rūpam iti su-pratītam| tathā hi Brahmatve srjate loka-nity^ādinā
tisro 'vasthā vyākhyātās tasya*

n. 941.

Setubandha 2.38.

*kāl^antara-parihuttam datṭhūṇa vi appaṇo mahoahi-saṇṇam|
Jaṇṇa-suā-baddhamāṇo Rāmo palāa-ghariṇim ṇa saṃbharāi Sirim||*

n. 944.

Setubandha 2.14.ab

dhīraṃ va jala-samūhaṃ timi-ñivahaṃ via sa-pakkha-pavva-loam|

n. 954.

Setubandha 2.27.a

ñai-sahassa-paḍiumbaṇa-nā-ras^antaam

n. 961.

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 13.11.

mātaṅga-rūpā nakrāḥ jala-carāḥ taiḥ śāka-pārthiv^ādi jala-gajaiḥ ity arthaḥ|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.11.

atha vā jale mātaṅgās ca vasanti teṣāṃ api|

n. 966.

Raghuvamśa 7.30.

liṅgair mudalḥ samvṛta-vikriyās te <vivāḥ^ārthinaḥ> hradāḥ prasannā iva gūḍha-nakrāḥ|
Vaidarbham āmantrya yayus tadīyāṃ pratyarpya pūjām upadā-chalena||

n. 972.

Śiśupālavadha 3.77.

utpitsavo 'antar nada-bhartur uccair garīyasā niḥśvasit^ānilena|
payāṃsi bhaktyā Garuḍa-dhvajasya dhvajān iv'occikṣīpire phaṇ^indrāḥ||

n. 973.

Setubandha 2.25.ab

ñiaa-vis^āṇala-paavia-muttā-ñiara-parigholamāṇa-visaharam|

n. 976.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.13.

atra vidruma-vanasy'ādhara-sāmyāc chaṅkha-yūthasya smita-sāmyaṃ pratiyate|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.13.

atra vidruma-vanasy'ādhara-sāmyāc chaṅkha-yūthasya manda-smita-sāmyaṃ an-uktam api pratiyate|

n. 981.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.15.

eṣā velā jala-vikṛti-samāsannaḥ śailo nistriṃśa-kalpasya khadga-tulyasya jalānāṃ nidheḥ samud-rasya dūrād viprakṛṣṭād deśāt| tamāla-taru-pankti-kālī kalaṅko malaṃ tasya lekhyā malīmasā| dhār'ēv'ābhāti| yathā khadgasya dhārā tath'ēyam apy asy'ābdheḥ|

n. 1000.

Mālavikāgnimitra 1.1. p. 4.

*ek^aiśvare sthito 'pi pranata-bahu-phale yaḥ svayaṃ kṛtti-vāsāḥ
kāntā-saṃmīśra-deho 'py a-viśaya-manasāṃ yaḥ purastād yatīnām|
aṣṭābhīr yasya kṛtsnam jagad api tanubhīr bibhrato n^ābhīmānaḥ
saṅ-mārg^ālokanāya vyapanayatu sa vas tāmasīm vṛttim Īśaḥ||*

n. 1031.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *KS* 1.1.

*devat^ātmā na kevalaṃ sthāvar^ātmā| idaṃ tu vaksyamāṇa-cetana-kṛtya-vivāh^ādi-ghaṭan-
^ārtham|*

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *KS* 1.1.

*parvatānāṃ sthāvara-rūpatay'aiva prasiddhatvād etāṃ bhrāntiṃ nirasyann āha devat^ātmā|
devatā-rūpa ātmā yasya jaṅgama-rūpasya|*

n. 1032.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *KS* 1.1.

*devatā ātmā adhiṣṭhātā (ādhiṣṭhātā a. corr.) yasya saḥ| eten'āsya vaksyamāṇa-Menakā-pariṇaya-
Pārvatī-janan^ādi-cetana-vyavahāra-yogyatva-siddhiḥ|*

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *KS* 1.1.

*vakṣyamānānām cetaneṣv ev'ōpapannānām vivāha-putr^ōtpādan^ādi-dharmānām utpattiṃ
darśayan nag^ādhirājam viśinaṣṭi devat^ātm'ēti| devatā-sva-rūpaḥ na kevalaṃ sthāvar^ātm'ēty
arthaḥ|*

n. 1033.

Kāvyaḍarsa 1.14.

*sargabandho mahā-kāvyaṃ ucyate tasya lakṣaṇam|
āśir namas-kriyā vastu-nirdeśo v'āpi tan-mukham||*

n. 1035.

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *KS* 1.1.

*devat^ātmano Himavataḥ pratipādanāc ca niṣ-pratyūha-parisamāpty-ādi-prayojanaṃ śiṣṭ^ācāra-
siddham iṣṭa-devatā-smaraṇ^ātmakaṃ maṅgalaṃ api kṛtavān ev'ēty avaseyam|*

n. 1037.

SĀYAṆA comm. ad *ŚB* 11.5.1.1. p. 2575.

vaitasa iti puṃ-prajananasya nāma|

n. 1046.

NĀRĀYAṆA comm ad *KS*. 1.1.

*na ca vastu-nirdeśa-mātr^ōpakrameṣu kāvyeṣu kavibhiḥ śiṣṭ^ācāra-siddho maṅgal^ācāraḥ
samupekṣita iti śaṅkanīyam| tatr'āpi mānasasya vācikasya vā pārameśvarasya namas-kārasya
tair aṅgī-kṛtatvāt| aṅgī-kṛtatve ca teṣāṃ śiṣṭatvam eva pramāṇam| kaiś-cit tu śrotr-
jan^ānugrahāya sva-granthēṣu niveśyata ity eva viśeṣaḥ| iha tu mahā-kavir ādāv asti-pada-
prayogāt ten'aiva param^ārtha-sataḥ param^ātmana eva pratipādanād*

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Kir* 1.1.

*āditāḥ śrī-śabda-prayogād varṇa-gaṇ^ādi-śuddhir n'ātr'ātīv'ōpayujyate| tad uktam devatā-
vācakāḥ śabdā ye ca bhadr^ādi-vācakāḥ| te sarve n'aiva nindyāḥ syur lipito gaṇato 'pi vā|*

n. 1047.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad KS 1.1.

*nanu ko 'yam vastu-nirdeśo nāma| ucyate| vastu iti-vṛttam| tatra ca prādhānyād vastu-śabden'ātra
nāyaka ucyate| tasya pradhānasy'ētarasya vā nirdeśo vastu-nirdeśaḥ| atra ca Ghaṁghanena śrīyaḥ
patih ity āhṛtaṁ Bhojena tu Hayagrīvavavadhe āsīd daityo Hayagrīvaḥ ity ādi| Himavānś
c'ātra prabandhe patākā-nāyakaḥ|*

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad KS 1.1.

*nanu param^eśvaro hy atra nāyakaḥ| tan-nirdeś^ā-bhāve katham atra vastu-nirdeśaḥ| ucyate|
atra patākā-vṛtta-nāyaka-bhūtasya Himavato nirdeśād vastu-nirdeśaḥ| kathā-śarīraṁ hi vastu-
śabden'ocyate| tatra pradhāna-bhūtātvan nāyako 'pi vastu nirdeśyam| nāyakās tu pradhāna-
nāyaka-patākā-nāyaka-pratināyaka-bhedena tri-vidhāḥ| tatra Ghaṁghaṇ^ācāryaḥ kathāyām
pradhāna-bhūtasya nāyakasya nirdeśo vastu-nirdeśa ity uktvā śrīyaḥ patih śrīmati śāsituṁ jagad
ity ādi-slokaṁ udāhṛtavān| Bhoja-rājas tu Hayagrīvavavadhe kāvye āsīd daityo Hayagrīva ity ādi-
slokaṁ udāhṛtya pratināyaka-nirdeśasy'āpi vastu-nirdeśatvam uktavān iti yuktam atra patākā-
nāyaka-nirdeśasy'āpi vastu-nirdeśatvam ity alam anena|*

n. 1053.

Harivaṁśa 6.35–36

*śailaiś ca śrūyate dugdhā punar devī vasuṁdharā|
oṣadhīr vai mūrtimatī ratnāni vividhāni ca||
vatsas tu Himavān āsīd dogdhā Merur mahā-girih|
pātraṁ tu śailam ev'āsīt tena śailāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ||*

n. 1060.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad KS 1.3.

*yasmād guṇānām bahūnām saṁnipāte samūhe eko doṣo nimajjati vruḍati naśyati na dūṣayati|
yathā candrasya'āmṛta-srāviṣu mayūkheṣv aṅkaḥ śas^ākhyam lakṣma|*

n. 1062.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad KS 1.3.

atr'ōpam^ānuprāṇito 'rthāntaranyās^ālamkāraḥ|

n. 1063.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad KS 1.3.

*arthāntaranyāsasya hy asya (tu?) śṛṅgār^āṅga-bhūtaḥ sva-bhāva-su-kumāro 'yaṁ dṛṣṭāntaś
cārutvam ādhatte|*

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad KS 1.3.

*vastutas tu vikasvar^ālaṅkāra eva| yatra kasya-cid viśeṣasya samarthan^ārthaṁ sāmānyaṁ vinyasya
tat-prasiddhāv apy a-paritusyātā kavīnā tat-samarthanāya punar viśeṣ^āntaram upamā-rītyā
arthāntaranyāsa-vidhayā vā vinyasyate tatra vikasvar^ālaṅkāraḥ| yasmin viśeṣa-sāmānya-viśeṣāḥ
sa vikasvaraḥ iti ca tal-lakṣaṇam|*

n. 1073.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad KS 1.6.

*muktā-phalāni tatra param^ājin^ārthinām (paramajinārthinām a. corr.) kirātānām kesari-
patha-sūcakāni|*

n. 1087.

Kirātārjunīya 5.3.

*<Arjuno 'bhiyayau Himālayam>
kṣiti-nabhah-sura-loka-nivāsibhiḥ
kṛta-niketam a-dṛṣṭa-parasparaiḥ|
prathayitum vibhutām abhinirmitam
pratinidhim jagatām iva Śambhunā||*

n. 1092.

Manusmṛti 8.172.

*sv^ādānād varṇa-saṃsargād dur-balānām ca rakṣaṇāt|
balam saṃjāyate rājñah sa prety'ēha ca vardhate||*

n. 1093.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad KS 1.13.

giri-rāja-śabdaṁ bāla-vyajanaair artha-yuktaṁ camaryaḥ kurvant'īti|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad KS 1.13.

*bāla-vyajanaḥ cāmaraiḥ yasya Himādreḥ giri-rāja-śabdam giri-rāja iti saṃjñām artha-yuktam
abhidheyavantaṃ kurvanti| rājāno hi chattra-cāmarādi-cihnītā iti bhāvaḥ|*

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad KS 1.13.

*vayaṃ tu bāla-vyajanādvadhūnana-darśanen'āyam eva giri-rāja iti yā sarva-jana-pratītiḥ tat
karaṇam ev'ātr'ārtha-yuktatva-karaṇam iti manyāmahe pratīti-mātra-parāyaṇatvāt kāvya-
vyavahārānām|*

n. 1094.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad KS 1.13.

*yasya bhūbhṛn-nāthasya sthāvara-rūpasy'āpi camāryo vāla-vyajanaḥ prakīṛṇakair giri-rāja it'imaṃ
śabdam artha-yuktam s'ārthakam kurvanti|*

n. 1095.

Mahābhārata 12.91.12.ac

yasmin dharmo virājeta taṃ rājānaṃ pracakṣate|

n. 1102.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad KS 1.16.

*yasy'ābjāni ravir ūrdhva-mukhaiḥ kīraṇair vikāsayati| na tv adho-gataiḥ| yatas tasy'āgra-saro-
ruhāṇi| sa tu sarasām adho budhne parivartamānaḥ paryātan| ataś c'ordhva-prasarat-kīraṇa-
pañcaśatyā eva tad-vikāsa-sāmarthyam|*

n. 1103.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad KS 1.16.

*āgra upari yāni sarāṃsi teṣu ruhāṇi padmāni adhaḥ parivartamānaḥ bhṛman vivasvān sūryaḥ
ūrdhva-mukhaiḥ mayūkhaiḥ prabodhayati vikāsayati| na kadācid adho-mukhaiḥ| ati-mārtaṇḍa-
maṇḍalatvād āgra-bhūmer iti bhāvaḥ| sapta-arṣi-maṇḍalaṃ dhruvād apy ūrdhvam iti jyotiṣikāḥ|
atas teṣāṃ āgra-saroruha-bhāgitvaṃ yuktam|*

n. 1104.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad KS 1.16.

sapta-arṣi-sthānasya sūryād upari-vartitvād iyaṃ uktiḥ|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad KS 1.16.

yatra sūryaḥ sapta[^]arṣiṇām upayog[^]ārthaṁ samastāni padmāni prabodhayat'ity arthaḥ| sapta[^]arṣiṇām sūrya-mārgād upari vartamānatvād itthaṁ uktam|

n. 1107.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad KS 6.67.

sthāvar[^]ātmānaṁ Viṣṇuṁ āhur iti sthāvarāṇām Himālayaḥ iti Bhagavadgītā-vacanāt|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad KS 6.67.

tvām sthāvar[^]ātmānaṁ sthāvara-rūpiṇaṁ Viṣṇuṁ āhuh| sthāvarāṇām Himālayaḥ iti Gītā-vacanāt|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad KS 6.67.

sthāvarāṇām Himālayaḥ iti Bhagavadgītā-vacan[^]ānusāreṇa santo yad bhavantam Nārāyaṇam ev'āhuh tad upapannam ev'ēty arthaḥ|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad KS 6.67.

Vyās[^]ādayo bhavantam sthāvar[^]ātmānaṁ Viṣṇuṁ sthāne viṣaye yuktam vā vadanti| yad āhuh sthāvarāṇām Himālayaḥ iti|

n. 1108.

Mahābhārata 6.32.25. = Bhagavadgītā 10.25.

*<Kṛṣṇa uvāca>
mah[^]arṣiṇām Bhṛgur ahaṁ girām asmy ekam akṣaram|
yajñānām japa-yajño 'smi sthāvarāṇām Himālayaḥ||*

n. 1109.

Viṣṇu-purāṇa 2.2.32.

*Viṣṇu-pāda-viniṣkrāntā plāvayitv'ēndu-maṇḍalam|
samantād Brahmanāḥ puryāṁ Gangā patati vai divaḥ||*

n. 1110.

Bhāgavata-purāṇa 5.17.1.

tatra bhagavataḥ sāksād yajña-liṅgasya Viṣṇor vikramato vāma-pād[^]āṅguṣṭha-nakha-nirbhinn[^]ordhv[^]āṇḍa-kaṭāha-vivareṇ'āntaḥ-praviṣṭā yā bāhya-jala-dhārā tac-carāṇa-pankajā-

*vanej^âruna-kiñjalk^ôparañjit^âkhila-jagad-agha-mal^âpah^ôpasparśan^â-malā sāksād bhaga-
vad-pad'ity an-upalakṣita-vaco 'bhidhīyamān'āti-mahatā kālena yuga-sahasr^ôpalakṣaṇena
divo mūrdhany avatatāra yad tad Viṣṇu-padam āhub|*

n. 1111.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad KS 6.70.

param^eśvara-sthāne tiṣṭhat'iti parameṣṭhi|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad KS 6.70.

[parameṣṭhi śīras] etac ca param^eśvara-sāmya-dyotakaṃ viśeṣaṇam|

n. 1155.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad Ragh 1.45.

*atra kulake svabhāvokti-bhāvikayor yathā-yogaṃ samāveśaḥ| tayoś ca lakṣaṇaṃ svabhāvoktis tu
ḍimbh^ādeḥ sva-kriyā-rūpa-varṇanam iti| pratyakṣā iva yad-bhāvāḥ kriyante bhūta-bhāvinah|
tad-bhāvikam iti ca| tatra sevyamānāv ity ādiṣu svabhāvoktiḥ| snigdha-gambhīra ity ādiṣu
bhāvikam| tasya tu bhūyaḥ-prabandha-vyāpitvaṃ draṣṭavyam| atra ca niyam^ārthaṃ gacchator
apī tayo rāj^ôpacārāṇāṃ nispattiḥ darśitā| atra snigdh'ēty ādau c'ōdyāna-gaman^ādi-samaya-
samucitasya vyavahārasya| sevyamānāv ity ādau vyajanasya| mano^'bhīrāmā ity ādau gītasya|
pavanasy'ēti chatra-kāryasya| chatrasya rājo-nivāraṇe 'py upayogāt| vaksyati ca rājo viśrāmayan
rājñāṃ chatra-śūnyeṣu mauliṣu iti| śreṇī-baddhām iti toraṇa-srajaḥ| grāmeṣv iti traividy^ôpa-
sthānasya| sarasīṣv iti śīśīr^ôpacārasya| haiyaṅgavīnam iti jānapad^ôpasthānasya| yathā Vikra-
morvaśyām vidyul-lekhā-kanaka-nikaṣa-śrī-vitānaṃ mam'ābhraṃ vyādhūyante nicūla-tarubhir
mañjarī-cāmarāṇi| dharma-cchedāt paṭutara-giro vandino nīlakaṇṭhā dhār^āhār^ôpanayana-
parā naigamāḥ sānumantaḥ iti|*

n. 1197.

Pādatāḍitaka 1.63. p. 30.

*giribhyo 'raṇyebhyaḥ salilanidhi-kacchād api maror|
narendrair āyātair diśi diśi nivīṣṭaiś ca śataśaḥ||
vicitrām eka-sthām a-nava-gata-pūrvām a-vikalām|
iha Sraṣṭuḥ sṛṣṭer bahu-viśayatām paśyati janah||*

n. 1218.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad Ragh 13.39.

anen'āpi mṛga-vyavahāra-pratītiḥ|

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.

kūṭa-bandh^ôpādānam darbh^âṅkura-mātra-vṛttitvaṃ ca mṛga-sāmya-sūcakam|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.

mṛga-sāhacaryān mṛgavad eva baddha iti bhāvah|

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.

darbh^âṅkura-mātreṇa vṛttiṃ jīvanam yasya| mṛga-samādhī-sūcakam idaṃ viśeṣaṇam|

n. 1222.

ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.

samādhī tapah|

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.

*ṛṣiḥ Māṇḍakarniḥ samādhī-bhītena Maghonā Indreṇa pañcānām apsarasām yauvanam eva
kūṭa-bandham kapāṭa-yantram upanītaḥ*

JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.

samādhī-bhītena sura-rājya-haraṇa-śaṅkayā tapo-bhītena|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.

*purā darbh^âṅkura-mātra-vṛttiḥ tan-mātr^āhāro mṛgaiḥ sārḍham saha caran sa ṛṣiḥ samādhē
tapaso bhītena Maghon'Ēndreṇa pañcānām apsarasām yauvanam|*

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.

samādhī tapas tasmād bhītena|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13.39.

*sa Sātakarniḥ darbh^âṅkura-mātra-bhojī harīnaiḥ samam vasann Indreṇa sura-rājya-haraṇa-
śaṅkayā samādhē tapaso bhītena pūrvam pañcānām apsarasām yauvanam eva kūṭa-bandho
vāgurikā tām abhinītaḥ*

n. 1237.

Mahābhārata 3.80.37.ab

yo daridrair api vidhiḥ śakyah prāptum nareśvara|

n. 1238.

Mahābhārata 3.80.38.cd

tīrth^ābhigamanam punyam yajñair api viśisyate||

n. 1239.

Mahābhārata 3.80.26–27

<Bhīṣmaḥ Pulastyaṃ uvāca>

*yadi tv aham anugrāhyas tava dharma-bhṛtām vara|
vaksyāmi hṛt-stham saṃdeham tan me tvam vaktum arhasi||
asti me bhagavan kaś-cit tīrthebhyo dharma-saṃśayaḥ|
tam aham śrotum icchāmi pṛthak saṃkīrtitam tvayā||*

n. 1247.

ŚRĪNIVĀSA comm. ad *AŚ* 1. p. 61.

*atha ca pratikūlam daivam śāpas tasy'ōpaśamanena sa-putrāyās tasyā rājñā sva-grh^ānayanam
api sūcitam|*

n. 1251.

Manusmṛti 2.17–18

*Sarasvatī-Dṛśadvatyor deva-nadyor yad antaram|
tam deva-nirmitam deśam Brahmāvartam pracakṣate||
tasmīn deśe ya ācāraḥ pāramparya-kram^āgataḥ|
varṇānām s^āntarālānām sa sad-ācāra ucyate||*

n. 1252.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.48.

chāyayā gāhamānaḥ anena tasya puṇya-deśatvāt sva-rūpeṇ'ākramaṇam na yuktam iti sūcitam|

n. 1259.

Skanda-purāṇa 167.57–58

*Gaṅgādvāre śubha-dvāre mahā-puṇye mah^ātmanā|
Dakṣeṇa sthāpitam liṅgam bhakti-hetoḥ Kapardinaḥ||
vṛkṣāḥ Kanakhalā nāma yatr'āsan kanak^ātmakāḥ|
mānuṣāṇām a-śīlatvāt saṃvṛttā dāravo babhuvuḥ||*

n. 1293.

Kāvyālaṃkāra 16.7.

*tatr'ōtpādye pūrvam san-nagarī-varṇanam mahā-kāvyē|
kurvīta tad-anu tasyām nāyaka-vaṃśa-praśamsā ca||*

n. 1302.

Raghuvamśa 6.25.

*evam tay'ōkte tam aveksya kiñcid visramsi-dūrv^āṅka-mālā|
rju-praṇāma-kriyay'aiva tanvī pratyādideś'ainam a-bhāṣamāṇā||*

n. 1352.

Vāmana-purāṇa 57.7.c-8

*Mahānadi-jale snātvā Sarayūm ājagāma sah <Prahādah>||
tasyām snātvā samabhyarcya Gopratāre Kuśēṣayam|
upoṣya rajanīm ekām Virajāṃ nagarīm yayau||*

Vāmana-purāṇa 63.10.ab

trailokya-nātham vara-dam Gopratāre Kuśēṣayam <viduḥ>|

n. 1375.

ARUṆAGIRIṆĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.32.

*purā kila Tvaṣṭā Saṃjñ^ākhhyāyāḥ sva-duhitur Āditya-patnyās tat-tejaḥ-sparśam a-sahamānāyāḥ
kṛte tam Ādityam cakra-bhram^ōllekhanena sahya-tejasam cakāra it'itihāsaḥ|*

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 6.32.

*Tvaṣṭā Saṃjñ^ābhīdhāyā duhitur Āditya-patnyāḥ tat-tejo 'sahamānāyāḥ kṛte Raviṃ yantre
'likhad ity āgamaḥ|*

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.32.

*Tvaṣṭrā Viśvakarmaṇā| bhartus tejo-vegam a-sahamānāyā duhitrā Saṃjñā-devyā prārthiten'ēti
śeṣaḥ| cakra-bhramam cakra^ākāram śastr^ōttejana-yantram| bhramo 'mbu-nirgame bhrāntau
kuṇḍ^ākhye śilpi-yantrake iti Viśvaḥ| āropya yatnen'ōllikhita uṣṇa-tejāḥ sūrya iva vibhāti|*

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.32.

*Tvaṣṭā Saṃjñā^ābhīdhānām tāṃ Sūrya-patnīm nij^ātma-jām| vilokya satataṃ bhartus tejasā
pīḍitām bhṛṣam| cakre cakra-bhram^ōllekhād Ādityaṃ sahya-tejasam| itihāsa-siddh'ēyaṃ
kath'ātr'ānena darsitā|*

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 6.32.

pūrvam tejo 'sahamānāyāḥ Saṃjñāyā jāyāyāḥ kṛte Tikṣṇāṃśus Tvaṣṭrā bhrame taṣṭa ity āgamah|

n. 1377.

Sāmba-purāṇa 29.2–4

*na purā pratimā hy āsīt pūjyate maṇḍale Raviḥ|
yath'aitan maṇḍalam vyomni sthīyate Savitus tadā||
evam eva purā bhaktaiḥ pūjyate maṇḍal^ākṛtiḥ|
yataḥ prabhṛti c'āpy evaṃ nirmitā Viśvakarmaṇā||
sarva-loka-hit^ārthāya Sūryasya puruṣ^ākṛtiḥ|
pratimā-sthāpanam c'aiva pramāṇam ca vidhānataḥ||*

n. 1386.

Meghadūta 17.

*tvām āsāra-prasamita-van^ōpaplavam sādhu mūrdhnā
vakṣyaty adhva-srama-parigataṃ sānumān Āmrakūṭaḥ|
na ksudro 'pi prathama-su-kṛt^āpekṣayā saṃśrayāya
prāpte mitre bhavati vimukhaḥ kiṃ punar yas tath'ōcchaiḥ||*

n. 1391.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.28.

ras^ābhyantarah anena rasa-śabdena jalam śṛṅgāraś ca vivakṣitam|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.29.

*ras^ābhyantarah raso jalam abhyantare yasya sah| anyatra rasena śṛgāreṇ'ābhyantaro 'ntar-
aṅgaḥ bhava|*

PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad *MD* 1.28.

*evam-bhūtāyā Nirvindhyāyā ras^ābhyantaro bhava| Nirvindhya-sambhoga-rasa abhyantare
ātmani yasya ity eko Nirvindhy^ōdakam abhyantare ity aparah|*

PÜRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad MD 1.28.

*ras^âbhyantaraḥ sambhoga-ras^âvagāḍhaḥ jalam abhyantare yasya sa ca atha vā madhura-
ras^âbhijñāḥ|*

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad MD 28.

*tasyāḥ pathi pravāhe samnipatya samśliṣya ras^âbhyantaro bhava pānīya-garbhaḥ syāḥ| apaḥ
piver ity arthaḥ| atha ca ras^âbhyantaraḥ śṛṅgāra-vāsito bhaver iti vakr^ôktiḥ|*

n. 1392.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.29.

sā Nirvindhyā|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.30.

asau pūrv^ôktā sindhuḥ nadī Nirvindhyā|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad MD 29.

*he subhaga tām Nirvindhyām kārśyaṁ kṛte yena vidhinā prakāreṇa prakṛti-sthaṁ tyajati sa
vidhir bhavat'āiva sampādyah|*

n. 1394.

PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad MD 1.29.

atha Sindhur nāma nadī bhaviṣyati|

PÜRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad MD 1.29.

tām Nirvindhyām| Sindhur iti nāmnā prasiddhā k'āpi nadī|

n. 1395.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.29.

*tām atītasya iti pāṭham ādṛtya Sindhur iti nady-antaram ucyata iti ke-cid vadanti| tadānīm
arthaś c'ā-puṣṭaḥ| atra deśe Sindhur iti k'āpi nadī n'āsti| Kāśmīreṣu Sindhuḥ pravahat'īty anu-
sandheyam|*

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.30.

*'sāv atītasya iti pāṭham āśṛitya Sindhur nāma nady-antaram iti vyākhyātam| kiṁ tu Sindhur
nāma kaś-cin nadaḥ Kāśmīra-deśe 'sti nadī tu kutr'āpi n'āst'īty upekṣyam ity ācakṣate|*

n. 1397.

Mālavikāgnimitra 5.149. p. 198.

*yo 'sau rāja-yajña-dīkṣitena mayā <Puṣpamitreṇa> rāja-putra-śata-parivṛtaṃ Vasumitraṃ
goptāram ādiśya saṃvatsar^ôpāvartanīyo nir-galas turago viśṛṣṭaḥ sa Sindhor dakṣiṇe rodhasi
carann aśv^ânīkena Yavanānām prārthitaḥ|*

n. 1398.

Meghadūta *K_{ed}* 1.29; *Meghadūta*–*Pārśvābhyudaya* 29.

*veṇī-bhūta-pratanu-salilā tām atītasya sindhuḥ
pāṇḍu-cchāyā taṭa-ruha-taru-bhramśibhiḥ jīrṇa-parṇaiḥ|
saubhāgyam te su-bhaga virah^āvasthayā vyañjayantī
kāśyaṃ yena tyajati vidhinā sa tvay'aiv'ôpapādyah||*

n. 1399.

Meghadūta *D_{ed}* 1.29.

*veṇī-bhūta-pratanu-salilā sā tv atītasya sindhuḥ
pāṇḍu-cchāyā taṭa-ruha-taru-bhramśibhir jīrṇa-parṇaiḥ|
saubhāgyam te su-bhaga virah^āvasthayā vyañjayantī
kāśyaṃ yena tyajati vidhinā sa tvay'aiv'ôpapādyah||*

n. 1403.

PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.30.

*Udayana-kathā-kovida-grāma-vṛddhān Udayana iti Vatsa-rājasya sāmśkārikam nāma| Kauśāmbī-
pater gaja-vana-vihāra-vatsalasya Vats^eśitur Udayanasy'Āvanti-nagara-nāthena Mahāsenena
māyayā sva-viśayaṃ upanīya cārake nigalitasya Yaugandharāyaṇ^ākhyā-saciva-mukhya-prayukta-
nir-apāya-nay^ôpāya-vyakti-kṛta-śakti-trayaṃ Vāsavadatt^ābhīdhānena duhitṛ-ratnena saha
Mahāsenasya kīrtim upahr̥tya sva-viśaya-prāpti-lakṣaṇā yā kathā tasyāṃ vidagdhaḥ grāmeṣu
vayaḥ-pariṇatā puruṣā yāḥ|*

n. 1404.

PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad *MD* 1.30.

tatra Avantyāṃ vṛddhāḥ api rasikā ev'ēty anen'ôcyate|

PÜRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad MD 1.30.

anena rasa-sudh[^]ôtsrāviṇo Vatsa-rāja-caritasya tan-mukhena satat[^]āsvādanāj janapada-janasy[^]āpi ras[^]aika-śaraṇatvam uktam|

n. 1405.

Brhatkathāślokaśaṃgraha 1.4.

*kṛtaṃ varṇanayā tasyā yasyām <Ujjayinyām> satatam āsate|
Mahākāla-prabhṛtayas tyaktvā Śivapuram gaṇāḥ||*

n. 1411.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.31.

ayam atra samādhiḥ kṛt[^]āparādhaḥ su-bhagaḥ priyatamaḥ prātar etya sva-preyasī-vacanasy[^]āvasaram a-vitarann eva paṭu mada-kalam sva-vacanam dīrghī-kurvan par[^]āṅganā-paribhoga-surabhi-gandhaḥ preyasīm madīyam aparādham kṣamasv[^]ēti prārthayamānaś cātu-kārī tasyāḥ pāda-patanād aṅg[^]ānukūlaḥ surat[^]ā-lābha-janitām glāniṃ yathā harati tathā Siprā-vāta iti|

n. 1413.

Meghadūta *M_{ed}* 1.35.

*jāl[^]ôdgīrṇair upacita-vapuḥ keśa-samskāra-dhūpair
bandhu-prītyā bhavana-sikhibhir datta-nṛty[^]ôpahāraḥ|
harmyeṣv asyāḥ kusuma-surabhiṣv adhva-khedam nayethā
lakṣmīm paśyaṃl lalita-vanitā-pāda-rāg[^]ānikiteṣu||*

n. 1414.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.33.

Ujjayinyām Mahākālam iti kim api devat[^]āyanam asti| tatra param[^]ēśvaraḥ sadā saṃnidhatte sarvebhyo varāmś ca dadāt[^]iti prasiddham| tasmāt tri-bhuvana-guror ity uktam| Caṇḍ[^]ēśvarasya idaṃ Mahākāla-niketan[^]ēśvarasya devasy[^]ābbhidhānam iti ke-cit|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad MD 1.33.

tasya guros trailokya-nāthasya Caṇḍ[^]īśvarasya Kātyāyanī-vallabhasya punyam pāvanam dhāma Mahākāl[^]ākhyam sthānam yāyā gaccha|

PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad MD 1.32.

*Caṇḍ^eśvarasya caṇḍaḥ krūraḥ saṃhartṛtvāt īśvaraḥ niyāmakatvāt prapañcasya yaḥ tasya atha
vā Gaurī-pateḥ|*

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad MD 33.

Caṇḍ^eśvarasya Śaṃbhor dhām^āyatanam yāyā gaccheḥ|

n. 1420.

Picumata 83.148.

*Gandhavatyā-taṭe ramye sva-rūpan darśitam mayā <Śivena>|
Mahākālāṃ mahā-raudraṃ prajvalaṃ sva-maricibhiḥ|
chāditaḥ sa mayā tūrṇaṃ sva-prabhābhiḥ Pitāmahaḥ||*

n. 1421.

Skanda-purāṇa Āvāntyakhaṇḍa 16.2–4

*ekadā samaye Vyāsa kapāla-kṣālanāya vai|
śīrṣ^ôdakam grhītvā tu kapālena Maheśvaraḥ||
prakṣālyā c'ākṣipad bhūmau tatra tīrtham an-uttamam|
nāmnā Gandhavatī puṇyā nadī trailokya-vīrutā||
Brahmaṇo rudhireṇ'āpi paripūrṇ'ābhavat kṣaṇāt|
tasyām snānam sadā śastam svayam devena bhāṣitam||*

n. 1422.

Kathāsaritsāgara 12.35.7.

*tato Gandhavatīm prāpya nadīm snāna-hṛta-klamah|
tīrtvā ca tām Mahākāla-śmaśānam prāpa s^ānugaḥ <Mṛgāṅkadattaḥ>||*

n. 1423.

Skanda-purāṇa 167.126–129

*anugrhya tadā Vyāsa sa-kulam dvija-sattamam <Ātreyaṃ>|
jagām'Ōjjayanīm devaḥ śmaśānam ca viveśa ha||
sa tatra bhasman'ātmānam avagunṭhya vṛṣa-dhvajaḥ|
ulmukam vāma-hastena grhītvā samupāviśat||
tatra prathamam ādāya śiṣyaṃ Kauśikim Īśvaraḥ|
Jambūmārga dvitīyaṃ ca Mathurāyām tato 'param||*

*Kanyakubje tataś c'ānyam anugrhya jagat-patiḥ|
sva-siddhāntaṃ dadau yogam uvāc'ēdaṃ ca Lāguḍiḥ||*

n. 1427.

Kuvalayamālā 97. p. 50. l. 5–6

<Avantyaṃ> cattāri va pañca va diṭṭhāim devaulaiṃ jāim ṇa suṃdara-vilāsiṇi-yaṇ^ābaddha-saṃgai-gīyaim

n. 1428.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 35.

tatra Mahākāla-dhāmi veśyā bhagavad-gaṇikās tvatto bhavat-sakāsān nakha-pada-sukha-karān varṣ^āgra-bindūn prathama-jala-kaṇān āsādyā prīti-vaśāt tvayi bhrāmara-pāli-prthulān kaṭākṣān kṣepsyanti|

n. 1432.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 36.

Bhavānyā Gauryā drṣṭa-bhaktir ālokit^ētthaṃ-vidha-sevanah| katham| vidyud-unmeṣ^ā-bhāvāc chānt^ōdvegāni nivṛtta-khedāny ata eva stimitāni nayanāni yatra darśane|

n. 1433.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.38.

śānta udvego gaj^ājina-darśana-bhayaṃ yayos te ata eva stimite niś-cale nayane yasmin karmaṇi tat tath'ōktam|

n. 1434.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.36.

śānt^ōdvega-stimīta-nayanam bhayaṇ-karasya gaj^ājīnasy'ā-darśanād devyāḥ śānta udvegaḥ

n. 1435.

PURṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.36.

śānt^ōdvegaḥ tuṅga-jat^ōtsaṅga-saṅgi-Gaṅgā-taraṅga-samjanit^ādambar^āvatarad-uttaraṅgita-phūt-kṛti-karāla-bhujā-gagaṇa-bhūṣita-karṇa-kaṇṭha-kāṭi-tat^ādikasya lalāṭa-locana-jvalad-anala-calana-sura-pura-dāha-sāṅk^ākulita-kalit^āṅjali-deva-vṛndasya kara-grhīta-paraśu-śūl^ā-

*di-bhrāmaṇa-dur-āsad^ôpānta-deśasya pracāṇḍa-tāṇḍav^ôddaṇḍa-bhuja-taru-ṣaṇḍasya khaṇḍa-
paraśor jagad-aṇḍa-khaṇḍana-kṣameṣu maṇḍala-bhramaṇa-sambhrameṣu dhairy^âvalambena
niyantrita-bhaya-vikārah|*

n. 1437.

Aṃśumadbhedāgama 70. cited by RAO 1916: App. B p. 77.

Skand^ôddhṛt^āpy Umā-devī Śambhor vāme bhay^ânvitā|

Śilparatna 2.22.112.cd

Gaurī Skandaṃ samuddhṛtya Śambhor vāme bhay^ânvitā||

n. 1440.

Matsya-purāṇa 55.16.cd

Gaj^āsura^Ānaṅga-Pur^Āndhak^ādi-vināśa-mūlāya namaḥ Śivāya|

n. 1448.

Harivaṃśa 112.120.

<Bāṇaḥ Śivam uvāca>

yath^āham śonit^ādigdho bhr̥ś^ārto vraṇa-pīḍitaḥ|

bhaktānāṃ nṛtyatām evaṃ putra-janma bhaved Bhava||

n. 1449.

Rāmāyaṇa 7.31.39–40.

vāluka-vedi-madhye tu tal liṅgaṃ sthāpya Rāvaṇaḥ|

arcayām āsa gandhaiś ca puṣpaiś c^'amṛta-gandhibhiḥ||

tataḥ satām ārti-haraṃ Haraṃ paraṃ vara-pradaṃ candra-mayūkha-bhūṣaṇam|

samarcayitvā sa niśācaro jagau prasārya hastān praṇanarta c^'āyatān||

n. 1455.

Rāmāyaṇa 7.98.9.

tataḥ putra-dvayaṃ vīraḥ so 'bhyaśīncan narādhipaḥ|

Subāhur Madhurām lebhe Śatrughātī ca Vaidīśam||

n. 1467.

Raghuvamśa 3.35–38

attha prajānām ciram ātmanā dhṛtām nitānta-gurvīm laghayiṣyatā dhuram|
vaś'iti matvā mati-cakṣuṣā suto nṛpeṇa cakre yuvarāja-śabda-bhāk||
narendra-mūl^āyatanād anantaram tad āspadam śrīr yuvarāja-saṃjñitam|
agacchad aṃśena guṇ^ābhilāṣiṇī nav^āvatāram kamalād iv'otpalam||
uṣarbudhaḥ sārathin'ēva vāyunā ghana-vyapāyena gabhastimān iva|
babhūva ten'ātitarām dur-utsahaḥ kṛta-prabhedena kar'iva pāṛthivaḥ||
niyujya tam medhya-turaṅga-rakṣaṇe dhanur-dharai rāja-sutair anudrutam|
a-pūrṇam ekena Śatakrat^ūpamaḥ śataṃ kratūnām apavighnam āpa saḥ||

n. 1477.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.23.

sūci-bhinnaiḥ sūcy-ākāreṣu mukul^āgreṣu bhinnaiḥ vikasitaiḥ|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.23.

sūci-bhinnaiḥ sūciṣu mukul^āgreṣu bhinnair vikasitaiḥ|

PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad *MD* 1.23.

sūci-bhinnaiḥ sūcy-ākāreṣu agreṣu vikasitaiḥ

PŪRṆASARAVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.23.

sūci-bhinnaiḥ sūciḥ śāstra-viśeṣaḥ sūcivat-tikṣṇatayā dal^āgrāṇy atra sūcaya ity ucyante sūci-
mātreṇa vikasitaiḥ an-ati-pākād dara-dalita-dala-saṃputair ity arthaḥ|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 23.

ketakaiḥ puspaiḥ pāṇdu-cchāyāḥ śukla-śobhā upavana-vṛtaya udyāna-kaṇṭhyo yeṣām| sitatvāt
ketakānām| sūcyā garbha-kaṇṭakena bhinnair vidāritaiḥ| teṣām hy antaḥ-sthā sūcir bhittvā
viniryāti|

n. 1478.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.23.

nīd^ārambhaiḥ kulāy^ōpakramaiḥ|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.23.

nīd^ārambhaiḥ kulāya-nirmāṇaiḥ|

PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.23.

nīd^ārambhaiḥ kulāya-nirmāṇ^ōpakramaiḥ|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 23.

nīd^ārambhaiḥ ālaya-kramair

n. 1480.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 23.

katipaya-dina-sthāyinaś ca haṃsā yeṣu| megh^āloke Mānasa-gamanāt|

n. 1481.

PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad *MD* 1.23.

*haṃsānām jambu-priyatvāt katipaya-din^āvasthānam uktam| anena tad-deśa-sthā haṃsā
bhavataḥ prāsthānika-garjanasya śravaṇād eva na gaccheyuḥ|*

n. 1485.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 25.

*yaś c'ādrir nāgarāṇām vidagdhanām uddāmāni pracandāni yauvanāni śilā-veśmabhiḥ pra-
khyāpayati| yataḥ paṇyastri-rati-parimal^ōdgāribhir gaṇikā-surat^āmōda-mocibhiḥ|*

n. 1486.

PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad *MD* 1.25.

*atratyānām nāgarāṇām yauvanāny uddāmān'iti yo veśyā-rati-parimalam udgiradbhiḥ śilā-veś-
mabhiḥ loka prathayati| pathika-jana-dvārā loka-prasiddhiḥ|*

n. 1487.

PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 1.25.

*paṇyastriṇām vāra-vilāsinīnām saṃbhog^ōpakaraṇa-bhūta-vividha-kusum^āṅga-rāga-paṭa-
vās^ādi-saurabham mukhen'ōdvamadbbhir darī-grhaiḥ| nāgarāṇām nagara-vāsinām uddāmāni
viśṛṅkhalāni viśṛṅkhalatvaṃ nāma nir-atīśaya-vibhūti-saṃbhāra-bhūṣita-nir-yantraṇa-smara-
vyāpāra-pāragatvaṃ yauvanam a-phalaṃ daridrasya ity uktatvāt|*

n. 1489.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.24.

*uttara-sloka-parijñānāy'ātr'ēdam anusandheyam Vidiśā-nagara-vartinyah panyāṅganāḥ sarva-
^āṅga-sundaryah sarva-lalita-kalā-vicakṣaṇāḥ sarva-puruṣ^āvarjana-kuśalās ca bhavanti|
tatratyāḥ punar nāgarāḥ puruṣās tābhyo 'py ati-sundarāḥ su-bhaga-yauvanāḥ strī-sambhoga-
vidagdhaś ca bhavanti| teṣāṃ nāgarāṇāṃ saundary^ātīśayena tān kāmayaṃānāḥ panyāṅganāḥ
mātr-ādi-bhayena sva-grheṣu bhoktum a-pārayantyas tasmān nagarān nirgatya pratyāsannasya
Nīcāir ākhyasya gireḥ saṅketa-sthāna-bhūteṣu śilā-grheṣu tair nir-dayaṃ ratāny anu-
bhūy'ānubhūya punar Vidiśāṃ guptaṃ praviśant'ity aitiḥyam asti iti|*

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.25.

*utkata-yauvanāḥ kva-cid anuraktā vār^āṅganā viśrambha-vihār^ā-kāṅkṣiṇyo mātr-ādi-
bhayān niśītha-samaye kaṃ-cana viviktaṃ deśam āsṛitya ramante| tac c'ātra bahulam ast'iti
prasiddhiḥ|*

n. 1490.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 1.25.

*ayam abhisandhiḥ pañyastri-rati-parimal^ōdgārīṇi yasya śilā-veśmāni drṣtvā tatratyā janā
evam vismayante aho nāgarāṇāṃ yauvanāni yataḥ panyāṅganā api paṇa-pradānam vinā sva-
saubhāgyena vaśī-kṛtya svairam eteṣu śilā-grheṣu bhuñjata iti|*

n. 1503.

HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* 6.48.

*Kāṇḍī-tīre Mathurā Lavaṇ^āsura-vadha-kāle Śatrughnena nirmāsyata iti vaksyati tat
katham adhunā Mathurā-sambhava iti cintyam Mathurā Madhurā pur'iti śabda-bheda-
prakāśe| yad vā s'ānyā purī iti bahutara-strīkatvād vairāgyam|*

n. 1504.

VAIDYĀŚRĪGARBHĀ comm. ad *Ragh* 15.28. cited by GOODALL – ISAACSON 2003: 392.

*iyam eva Mathurā Lavaṇen'ōcchinn'āranyatvam upāgatā punaḥ Śatrughnena nirmīta| evam
upakūlam sa Kāṇḍīyāḥ puram|*

n. 1549.

Meghadūta 47.

*tām uttīrya vraja paricita-bhrū-latā-vibhramānām
pakṣm^ôtkṣepād upari-vilasat-kṛṣṇa-śāra-prabhānām|
kunda-kṣep^ânuga-madhukara-śrī-muṣām ātma-bimbaṃ
pātri-kurvan Daśapura-vadhū-netra-kautūhalānām||*

n. 1550.

Manusmṛti 2.17–19

*Sarasvatī-Dṛśadvatyor deva-nadyor yad antaram|
taṃ deva-nirmitaṃ deśaṃ Brahmāvartaṃ pracakṣate||
tasmīn deśe ya ācāraḥ pāramparya-kram^āgataḥ|
varṇānām s^āntarālānām sa sad-ācāra ucyate||
Kurukṣetraṃ ca Matsyās ca Pañcālāḥ Śūrasenakāḥ|
eṣa Brahmarṣideśo vai Brahmāvartād an-antaraḥ||*

n. 1554.

Raghuvamśa 5.70.

*tāmr^ôdareṣu patitaṃ druma-pallaveṣu
nirdhauta-hāra-gulikā-viśadaṃ him^āmbhaḥ|
saṃlakṣyate daśana-candrikay'ānuviddhaṃ
bimb^oṣṭha-labdha-parabhāgam iva smitaṃ te <Ajasya>||*

n. 1556.

Raghuvamśa 4.24.

*saritaḥ kurvati gādhāḥ pathas c'āśyāna-kardamān|
yātrāyai codayām āsa taṃ <Raghum> śakteḥ prathamam śarat||*

n. 1558.

Vikramorvaśīya 4.15. p. 126.

CITRALEKHĀ:

*tado <Urvaśī> bhattuṇo aṇuṇaam a-ppaḍivajjamānā guru-sāva-sammūḍha-hiaā visumarida-
devadā-ṇiamā ammakā-jaṇa-pariharaṇiam Kumāra-vaṇam pavittāḥ| paves^aṇantaram ca
kāṇaṇ^ovanta-vatti-ladā-bhāveṇa pariṇadam se rūvaṃ|*

n. 1567.

PARAMEŚA comm. ad MD 2.8.

*viśeṣa-lakṣaṇam ucyate Dhanapati-grhād (grhān a. corr.) uttareṇ'āsmadīyam agāram iti| a-dū-
ratvam anena pratyayen'ocyate| a-dūratva-kathanena saundarye 'py alp^āntaratvam uktam
bhavati|*

n. 1570.

Abhijñānaśākuntala 3.31–32 p. 138.

*kṣāma-kṣāma-kapolam ānanam uraḥ kāṭhinya-mukta-stanam|
madhyam klāntataram prakāma-vinatāv aṃsau chaviḥ pāṇḍurā||
śocyā ca priya-darśanā ca madana-kliṣṭ'ēyam ālaksyate|
patrāṇām iva śoṣaṇena marutā sprṣṭā latā mādḥāvī||*

n. 1576.

Meghadūta 59–60

*utpaśyāmi tvayi taṭa-gate snigdha-bhinn^āñjan^ābhe
sadyaḥ-kṛtta-dvirada-daśana-ccheda-gaurasya tasya|
līlām adreḥ stimita-nayana-prekṣaṇīyām bhavitrīm
aṃsa-nyaste sati Halabhṛto mecake vāsas'iva||
hitvā nilam bhujaga-valayam Śambhunā datta-hastā
krīdāśaile <Kailāse> yadi ca viharet pāda-cāreṇa Gaurī|
bhaṅgi-bhaktiā viracita-vapuḥ stambhit^āntar-jalo 'syāḥ
sopānatvam kuru sukha-pada-sparśam ārohaṇeṣu||*

n. 1579.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad MD 2.14.

*striṇām sparśāt priyaṅgur vikasati bakulaḥ sīdhu-gaṇḍūṣa-sekāt pād^āghātād aśokas tilaka-ku-
rabakau vikṣaṇ^āliṅganābhyām| mandāro narma-vākyāt paṭu-mṛdu-hasanāc campako vaktra-
vātāc cūto gītān namerur vikasati ca puro nartanāt karnikārah||*

n. 1581.

PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad MD 2.11.

atra chadman'ēti nirdeśān n'aitat pāramārthikam taylor api puṃstv-ā-viśeṣād

n. 1587.

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 2.13.

śaṅkha-padmau śaṅkha-padm^ākhyau nidhi-viśeṣau|

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *MD* 2.17.

likhite vapuṣī ākr̥tī jayos tau tath'ōktau śaṅkha-padmau nāma nidhi-viśeṣau|

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *MD* 77.

kiṃ ca dvāra-pārśve śaṅkha-padmau nidhī likhita-vapuṣau dr̥ṣṭvā lakṣyam|

n. 1588.

PARAMEŚVARA comm. ad *MD* 2.13.

dvār^ôpānte dvāra-pāla-sthāne likhita-vapuṣau citr^âr̥pita-śarīrau śaṅkha-padmau ca dr̥ṣṭvā|
nidhi-dvay^âdhidevatā-parau śaṅkha-padmau|

PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad *MD* 2.13.

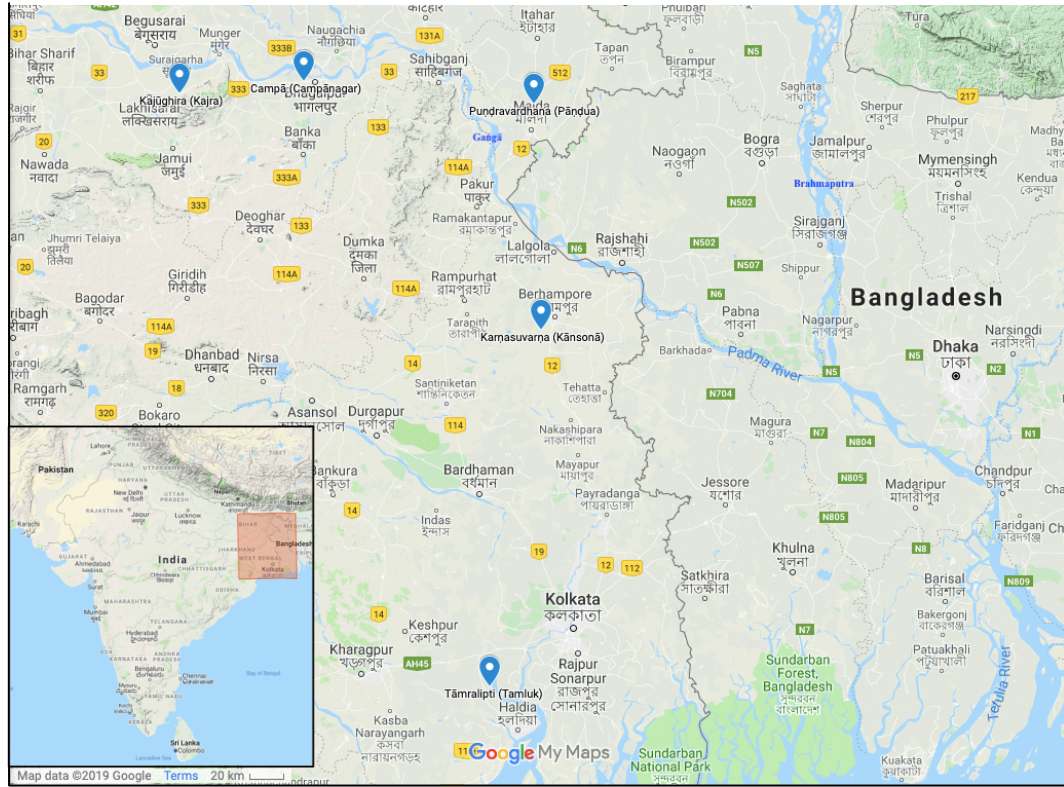
likhita-vapuṣau dvārapālatvena citra-niveśita-nija-lakṣaṇa-viśiṣṭa-śarīrau| śaṅkha-padmau śi-
rasi śaṅkheṇa lāñchito nidhi-devatā-viśeṣaḥ śaṅkha-nidhiḥ padmena tu padma-nidhiḥ tau|

MAPS

URBAN SPACE



BENGAL



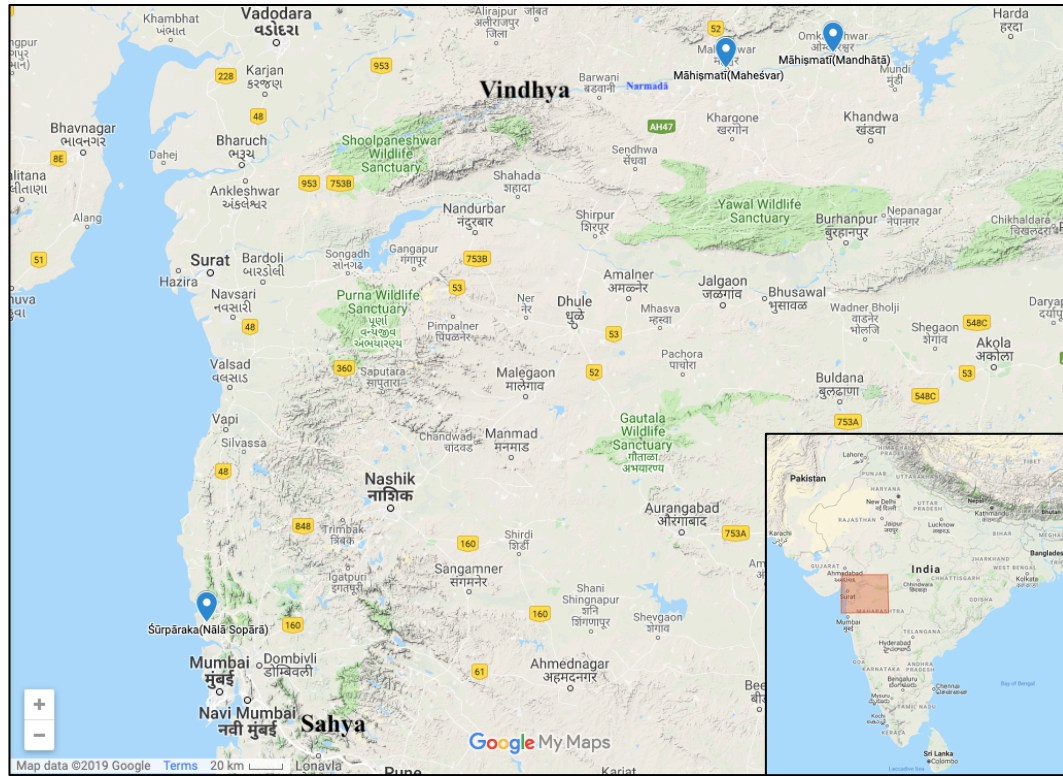
KALINGA



DAKṢIṆĀPATHA



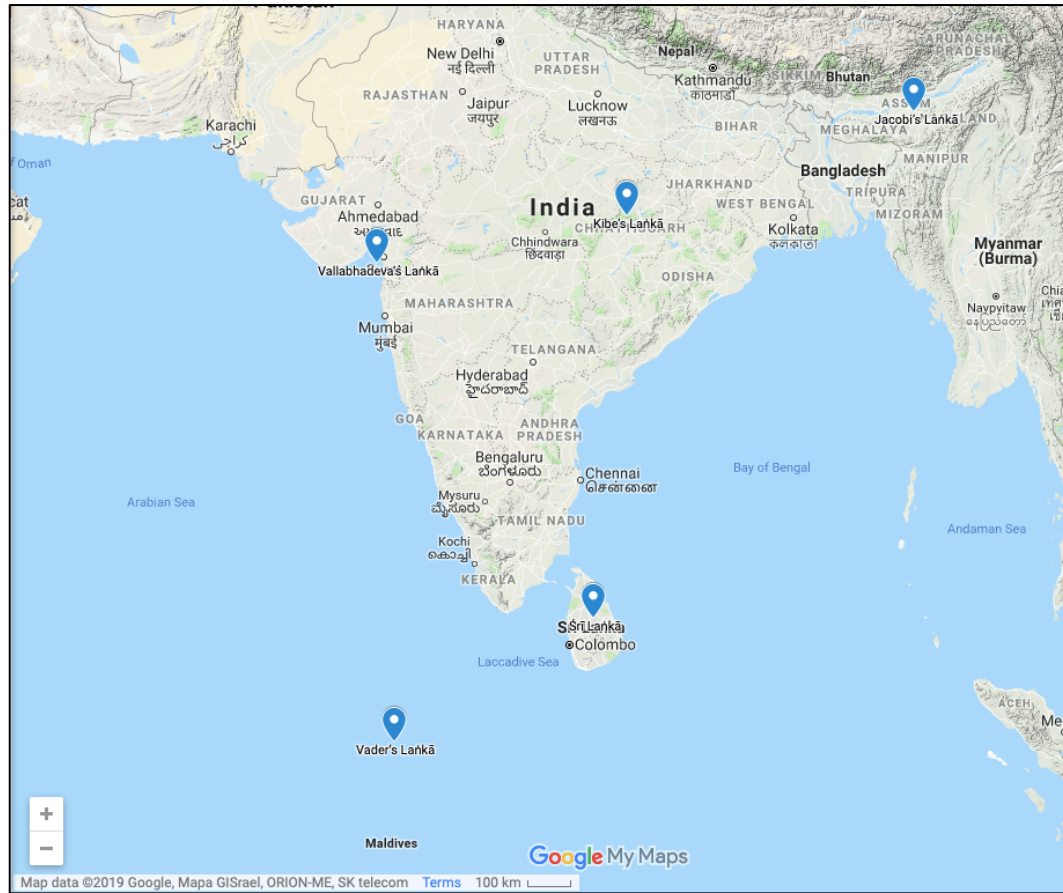
ĀPARĀNTA



UTTARĀPATHA



LOCATIONS OF LANKĀ



THE ITINERARY OF KĀLIDĀSA'S CLOUD MESSENGER



Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

KĀLIDĀSA'S WORKS

- Abhijñānaśākuntala* = ONIANS, Isabelle – VASUDEVA, Somadeva (eds.) 2006: *The Recognition of Shakuntala by Kālidāsa*. New York, New York University Press & JJC Foundation /Clay Sanskrit Library/.
- Kumārasambhava* = MURTI, M. S. Narayana (Hrsg.) 1980: *Vallabhadeva's Kommentar (Śāradā-Version) zum Kumārasambhava des Kālidāsa*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH.
- Mālavikāgnimitra* = ONIANS, Isabelle (ed.) 2009: *Mālavikā and Agnimitra by Kālidāsa*. New York, New York University Press & JJC Foundation /Clay Sanskrit Library/.
- Meghadūta* = HULTZSCH, Eugen (ed.) 1998 [1911]: *Kālidāsa's Meghadūta edited from manuscripts with the Commentary of Vallabhadeva and provided with a complete Sanskrit-English Vocabulary*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
- Meghadūta D_{ed}* = SĀSTRĪ, T. Gaṇapati (ed.) 1919: *The Meghasandesa of Kālidāsa With the commentary Pradīpa of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha*. Trivandrum, The Government of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore /Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. LXIV/.
- Meghadūta K_{ed}* = UNNI, N. P. (ed.) *Meghasandesa of Kālidāsa with the commentaries Pradīpa of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Vidyullatā of Pūrṇasarasvatī, Sumanoramanī of Parameśvara*. Delhi, Varanasi, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan.
- Meghadūta M_{ed}* = GODBOLE, Nārāyaṇa Bālakṛishṇa – PARAB, Kāshīnāth Pāndurang (eds.) 1890: *The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa With The Commentary (Sanjivini) of Mallinātha*. Bombay, The Proprietor of the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press.
- Meghadūta-Pārsvābhyudaya* = PATHAK, Kashinath Bapu (ed.) 1916: *Kālidāsa's Meghadūta on the Cloud-Messenger (As embodied in the Pārsvābhyudaya) with the Commentary of Mallinātha, Literal English Translation, Variant Readings, Critical Notes, Appendixes and Introduction, determining the date of Kālidāsa from latest antiquarian researches*. Poona, N. G. Sardesai.
- Raghuvamśa* 1–6 = GOODALL, Dominic – ISAACSON, Harunaga (eds.) 2003: *The Raghupancika of Vallabhadeva: Being the Earliest Commentary on the Raghuvamśa of Kalidasa. Volume I*. Groningen, Egbert Forsten Publishing.
- Raghuvamśa* 7, 9–12, 14–19 = NANDARGIKAR, Gopal Raghunath (ed.) 1971 [1897]: *The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa with the Commentary of Mallinātha*. Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- Raghuvamśa* 8, 13. = Kashmirian text as read by Vallabhadeva, draft prepared by Csaba Dezső, Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson and Csaba Kiss (given to me by Csaba Dezső).
- Raghuvamśa K_{ed}* = PODUVAL, K. Achyutha – NAMBIAR, C. K. Raman (eds.) 1964: *Raghuvamśa by Mahākavi Kalidasa with Prakasika Commentary of Arunagirinatha & Padarthadeepika Commentary of Narayana Panditha*. Kochi, The Sanskrit College Committee Tripunithura /Sri Ravi Varma Sanskrit Series No. 3/.
- Raghuvamśa N_{ed}* = NANDARGIKAR, Gopal Raghunath (ed.) 1971 [1897]: *The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa with the Commentary of Mallinātha*. Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- Vikramorvaśīya* = ONIANS, Isabelle (ed.) 2009: *How Ūrvashi Was Won by Kālidāsa*. New York, New York – JJC Foundation /Clay Sanskrit Library/.

SANSKRIT COMMENTARIES ON KĀLIDĀSA'S WORKS

Abhijñānaśākuntala (AŚ)

ŚRĪNIVĀSA comm. ad AŚ = KĀLE, Gaṇeś Kāśināth (ed.) 1973: *Mahākavīcakra-vartīśrīkālīdāsa-praṇītaṃ Abhijñānaśākuntalaṃ nāma nāṭakam. Aṣṭabhāṣāvartī-Śrīnivāsacārya-praṇītayā Śākuntalavyākhyayā Rāghavabhaṭṭakṛtārthadyotanikayā ṭīkāyā ca samalaṃkṛtam*. Muṃbai, Lakṣmīveṅkaṭeśvara mudraṇālaya.

Kumārasambhava (KS)

ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad KS = SĀSTRĪ, T. Gaṇapati (ed.) 1913–1914: *The Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa With the two commentaries, Prakāsikā of Aruṇagirinātha and Vivaraṇa of Nārāyaṇapandita. Part I–III*. Trivandrum, The Government of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore /Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XXVII, XXXII, XXXVI/.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad KS = KĀLE, M. R. (ed.) 1917: *Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava. Cantos I–VII. The commentary of Mallinātha, a literal English translation, Notes and Introduction*. Bombay, Vishnu Pandurang Tendulkar.

NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad KS = SĀSTRĪ, T. Gaṇapati (ed.) 1913–1914: *The Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa With the two commentaries, Prakāsikā of Aruṇagirinātha and Vivaraṇa of Nārāyaṇapandita. Part I–III*. Trivandrum, The Government of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore /Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XXVII, XXXII, XXXVI/.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad KS = MURTI, M. S. Narayana (Hrsg.) 1980: *Vallabhadeva's Kommentar (Śāradā-Version) zum Kumārasambhava des Kālidāsa*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH.

Meghadūta (MD)

DAKṢIṆĀVARTANĀTHA comm. ad MD = SĀSTRĪ, T. Gaṇapati (ed.) 1919: *The Meghasandesa of Kālidāsa With the commentary Pradīpa of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha*. Trivandrum, The Government of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore /Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. LXIV/.

MALLINĀTHA comm. ad MD = GODBOLE, Nārāyaṇa Bālakṛishṇa – PARAB, Kāśināth Pāṇdurang (eds.) 1890: *The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa With The Commentary (Sanjivini) of Mallinātha*. Bombay, The Proprietor of the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press.

PARAMEŚA comm. ad MD = UNNI, N. P. (ed.) *Meghasandesa of Kālidāsa with the commentaries Pradīpa of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Vidyullatā of Pūrṇasarasvatī, Sumanoramanī of Paramēśvara*. Delhi, Varanasi, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan.

PŪRṆASARASVATĪ comm. ad MD = UNNI, N. P. (ed.) *Meghasandesa of Kālidāsa with the commentaries Pradīpa of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Vidyullatā of Pūrṇasarasvatī, Sumanoramanī of Paramēśvara*. Delhi, Varanasi, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan.

VALLABHADEVA comm. ad MD = HULTZSCH, Eugen (ed.) 1998 [1911]: *Kālidāsa's Meghadūta edited from manuscripts with the Commentary of Vallabhadeva and provided with a complete Sanskrit-English Vocabulary*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Raghuvamśa (Ragh)

ARUṆAGIRINĀTHA comm. ad Ragh = PODUVAL, K. Achyutha – NAMBIAR, C. K. Raman (eds.) 1964: *Raghuvamśa by Mahakavi Kalidasa with Prakasika Commentary of Arunagirinatha & Padarthadeepika*

- Commentary of Narayana Panditha*. Kochi, The Sanskrit College Committe Tripunithura /Sri Ravi Varma Sanskrit Series No. 3/.
- HEMĀDRI comm. ad *Ragh* = DWIWEDĪ, Rewā Prasāda (ed.) 1973: *Raghuvamśa-darpaṇa. Raghuvamśa Commentary. Vol. I*. Patna, Kashiprasad Jayaswal Research Institute /Classical Sanskrit Works Series/.
- JINASAMUDRA comm. ad *Ragh* = NANDI, Tapasvi (ed.) 1989: *Jinasamudra's Commentary on the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa*. Gandhinagar, Gujarat Sahitya Akademi.
- MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* = NANDARGIKAR, Gopal Raghunath (ed.) 1971 [1897]: *The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa with the Commentary of Mallinātha*. Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- NĀRĀYAṆA comm. ad *Ragh* = PODUVAL, K. Achyutha – NAMBIAR, C. K. Raman (eds.) 1964: *Raghuvamśa by Mahakavi Kalidasa with Prakasika Commentary of Arunagirinatha & Padarthadeepika Commentary of Narayana Panditha*. Kochi, The Sanskrit College Committe Tripunithura /Sri Ravi Varma Sanskrit Series No. 3/.
- ŚRĪNĀTHA comm. ad *Ragh* = electronic text typed in by Csaba Kiss, based on: NAK 5–835 NGMPP. (given to me by Csaba Kiss), compared with MS Add. 1396.1. Cambridge University Library. (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01396-00001/1> [accessed on: 21.01.2019.]).
- VAIDYAŚRĪGARBHĀ comm. ad *Ragh* = electronic text typed in (largely) by Dominic Goodall, based on: NAK 1–1076. NGMPP (given to me by Csaba Kiss).
- VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 1–6 = GOODALL, Dominic – ISAACSON, Harunaga (eds.) 2003: *The Raghupancika of Vallabhadeva: Being the Earliest Commentary on the Raghuvamśa of Kalidasa. Volume I*. Groningen, Egbert Forsten Publishing.
- VALLABHADEVA comm. ad *Ragh* 13. = draft prepared by Csaba Dezső, Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson and Csaba Kiss (given to me by Csaba Dezső).

INSCRIPTIONS

- Altp. Insch.* = SCHMITT, Rüdiger (ed.) 2009: *Die altpersischen Inschriften der Achaimeniden. Editio minor mit deutscher Übersetzung*. Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag.
- CII Vol. 1.* = HULTZSCH, Eugen (ed.) 1925: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. I. Inscriptions of Asoka. New Edition*. Oxford, The Government of India.
- CII Vol. 3.* = FLEET, John Faithfull (ed.) 1888: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. III. Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*. Calcutta, Archaeological Survey of India.
- CII Vol. 4.* = MIRASHI, Vasudev Vishnu (ed.) 1955: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. IV. Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*. Ootacamund, Government Epigraphist for India.
- CII Vol. 5.* = MIRASHI, Vasudev Vishnu (ed.) 1963: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. V. Inscriptions of the Vākātakas*. Ootacamund, Archaeological Survey of India.
- EI* = BURGESS, James et al. (eds.) 1892–1970: *Epigraphia Indica. Vol. 1–38*. Calcutta, Archaeological Survey of India.
- Sel. Inscript.* = SIRCAR, Dinesh Chandra (ed.) 1965 [1942]: *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization. Volume I. From the Sixth Century B. C. to the Sixth Century A. D.* Calcutta, University of Calcutta.
- Valkhā Inscript.* = RAMESH, K. V. – TEWARI, S. P. (eds.) 1990: *A Copper-Plate Hoard of the Gupta Period from Bagh, Madhya Pradesh*. New Delhi, Archaeological Survey of India.

ĪTĪHĀSA–PURĀṆA

- Agni-purāṇa* = MITRA, Rajendralal (ed.) 1870-1879: *Agni Purana*. Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gret_utf.htm#AgniP_BI [accessed on: 28.11.2018.]).

- Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa* = w. d. Śrīvālmikimahāmuniḥkṛtasaṭakoṭirāmacaritāntargataṃ *Ānandarāmāyaṇam*. (<https://archive.org/details/HindiBookAnandRamayan/page/n15> [accessed on: 15.01.2019.]).
- Ayodhyāmāhātmya* = BAKKER, Hans T. (ed.) 1986: *Ayodhyā. Part 2. Ayodhyāmāhātmya, introduction, edition and annotation*. Groningen, Egbert Forsten.
- Bhāgavata-purāṇa* = SINGH, Nag Sharan (ed.) 1987: *The Bhāgavatamahāpurāṇam*. Delhi, Nag Publishers.
- Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* = PRATĀP, Surendra (ed.) 1995 [1984]: *Śrībhaviṣyamahāpurāṇam. The Bhaviṣyamahāpurāṇam*. Delhi, Nag Publishers.
- Brahma-purāṇa* = SCHREINER, Peter – SÖHNEN-THIEME, Renate (Hrsg.) 1987–1992: *Brahmapurāṇa*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/3_purana/brhmap/brhmppu.htm [accessed on: 28.11.2018.]).
- Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* = 1912, Bombay, Venkatesvara Steam Press (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/3_purana/brndp1_u.htm [accessed on: 28.11.2018.]).
- Garuḍa-purāṇa* = w. d. Bombay, Venkatesvara Steam Press (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/3_purana/garup1_u.htm [accessed on: 26.11.2018.]).
- Hālāsyāmāhātmya* = w. d. Grantha edition. (<https://www.scribd.com/doc/7097666/halasya-mahatmyam> [accessed on: 29.11.2018.]).
- Harivaṃśa* = VAIDYA, Parashuram Lakshman (ed.) 1969: *The Harivaṃśa. Being the Khila or Supplement to the Mahābhārata*. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Kālikā-purāṇa* = SHASTRI, Biswanarayan (ed.) 1991–1992: *The Kālikāpurāṇa. Part I–III*. Delhi, Nag Publishers.
- Kūrma-purāṇa* = GUPTA, Anand Swarup (ed.) 1972: *The Kurma Purana*. Varanasi, All-India Kashiraj Trust.
- Līṅga-purāṇa* = 1906, Bombay, Venkatesvara Steam Press (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/3_purana/lip_1_u.htm [accessed on: 28.11.2018.]).
- Mahābhārata* = SUKTHANKAR, Vishnu S. et al. (eds.) 1927–1966: *The Mahābhārata*. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* = 1941, *Śrīmārkaṇḍeya purāṇa*. Mathurā, Lālā Śyāmalāl Hīrālāl.
- Matsya-purāṇa* = 1954, Calcutta, Caukhamba Vidyabhavan (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/3_purana/mtp176pu.htm [accessed on: 28.11.2018.]).
- Nārada-purāṇa* = (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/3_purana/nardp1_u.htm [accessed on: 28.11.2018.]).
- Narasimha-purāṇa* = JENA, Siddheswar (ed.) 1987: *The Narasimha Purāṇam*. Delhi, Nag Publishers (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/3_purana/narsippu.htm [accessed on: 29.11.2018.]).
- Padma-purāṇa* = PRATAP, Surendra (ed.) 1984: *The Padmamahāpurāṇam*. Delhi, Nag Publishers.
- Rāmāyaṇa* = BHATT, G. H. et al. (eds.) 1960–1975: *The Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*. Baroda, Oriental Institute.
- Sāmba-purāṇa* = TRIPĀTHĪ, Shrikriṣṇamaṇi (ed.) 1983: *Sāmbapurāṇam (Upapurāṇam)*. Varanasi, Krishnadas Academy.
- Śiva-purāṇa* = 1920, Bombay, Venkatesvara Steam Press (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/3_purana/sivap7_u.htm [accessed on: 05.12.2018.]).
- Skanda-purāṇa* = BISSCHOP, Peter C. (ed.) 2006: *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa. Sects and Centres*. Groningen, Egbert Forsten / Groningen Oriental Studies Volume XXI/.
- Skanda-purāṇa Avantyakhaṇḍa* = SINGH, Nag Sharan (ed.) 1986: *Śrīskandamahāpurāṇam. The Skandamahāpurāṇam. Pañcama bhāga. Śrī Avanyakhaṇḍam*. Delhi, Nag Publishers.
- Skanda-purāṇa Himavatkhanda* = w. d. *Himavatkhandaḥ*. Varanasi, Viśvanāthprasād / Gorakṣagranthamālāyām ekonaṣṭatitamaṃ puṣpam/ (<https://ia800106.us.archive.org/8/items/SkandaPuranaHimavatKhanda/Skanda%20Purana%20Himavat%20Khanda.pdf> [accessed on: 15.01.2019.]).
- Skanda-purāṇa Sahyādrīkhanda* = DA CUNHA, J. Gerson (ed.) 1877: *The Sahyādrī-Khanda of the Skanda Purāṇa. A Mythological, Historical, and Geographical Account of Western India*. Bombay, Thacker, Vining.

- Vāmana-purāṇa* = GUPTA, Anand Swarup (ed.) 1967: *The Vamana Purana*. Varanasi, All-India Kashiraj Trust (http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel/1_sanskrit/3_purana/vamp_u.htm [accessed on: 28.11.2018.]).
- Varāha-purāṇa* = ŚRĪKṚṢṆADĀS, Gaṅgāviṣṇu – ŚRĪKṚṢṆADĀS, Khemarāj (eds.) w. d. *atha śrīmadvarāha-purāṇam prārābhyaṭe*. Bombay, Venkatesvara Steam Press (<https://archive.org/details/VarahaPurana> [accessed on: 15.01.2019.]).
- Vāyu-purāṇa* = ŚĀSTRĪ, Rāmapratāp Tripāṭhī (ed.) 1987: *Mahāmuniśrīmadvyāsapraṇītaṃ Vāyupurāṇam*. Prayāg, Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan.
- Vāyu-purāṇa Revākhaṇḍa* = ŚRĪKṚṢṆADĀS, Kṣemrāj (ed.) 1910: *Śrīskandamahāpurāṇam*. Bombay, Venkatesvara Steam Press (http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel/1_sanskrit/3_purana/vprevk_u.htm [accessed on: 03.12.2018.]).
- Viṣṇu-purāṇa* = PATHAK, M. M. (ed.) 1997–1999: *The Critical Edition of the Viṣṇupurāṇam*. Vadodara, Oriental Institute (http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel/1_sanskrit/3_purana/vipce_pu.htm [accessed on: 05.02.2019.]).

KĀVYA

- Anargharāghava* = DURGĀPRASĀD, Paṇḍit – PANŚĪKAR, Wāsudev Laxman Śāstrī (eds.) 1937: *The Anargharāghava of Murāri with the Commentary of Ruchipati*. Bombay, Pāndurang Jāvajī /Kāvyamālā 5/.
- Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṃgraha* = MALLINSON, James (ed.) 2005: *The Emperor Of The Sorcerers Volume One By Budhasvāmin*. New York, New York University Press & JJC Foundation /Clay Sanskrit Library/.
- Daśakumāracarita* = GODBOLE, Narayana Balakrishna (ed.) 2013: *Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍī*. Delhi, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan /The Vrajajivan Prachyabharati Granthamala 157/.
- GAUḌAPĀDA comm. ad SK = COLEBROOKE, Henry Thomas (ed.) 1887: *The Sāṅkhya Kārikā by Īśvara Krishna. The Bhāṣya or Commentary of Gauḍapāda*. Bombay, Tookaram Tatya.
- Gauḍavaho* = SURU, N. G. (ed.) 1975: *Gauḍavaho by Vākpāṭirāja Edited With an Introduction, Sanskrit Chāyā, English Translation, Notes, Appendices and Glossary*. Ahmedabad, Dalsukh Malvania /Prakrit Text Society Series No. 18/.
- Harṣacarita* = FÜHRER, Alois Anton (ed.) 1909: *Śrīharṣacaritamahākāvyaṃ. Bānabhaṭṭa's Biography of King Harshavardhana of Sthānviśvara with Śaṅkara's Commentary, Saṅketa*. Bombay, The Department of Public Instruction.
- Kādambarī* = ŚĀSTRĪ, Krishṇamohana (ed.) 1902: *Kādambarī (Pūrvārḍha) Of Bānabhaṭṭa Edited With The Chandrakala and Vidyotini Sanskrit and Hindī Commentaries*. Varanasi, Chaukhambha Sanskrit Sansthan.
- Kathāsaritsāgara* = DURGĀPRASĀD, Pandit – PARAB, Kāśīnāth Pāndurang (eds.) 1930: *The Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadevabhaṭṭa*. Bombay, Pāndurang Jāvajī.
- Kirātārjunīya* = DURGĀPRASĀD, Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit – PARAB, Kāśīnāth Pāndurang (eds.) 1917: *The Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi with Commentary of Mallinātha and Various Readings*. Bombay, Tukārām Jāvajī.
- Kuvalayamālā* = MUNI, Achārya Jinavijaya (ed.) 1959: *Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotana Sūri*. Bombay, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavana /Singhi Jain Series Vol. No. 45/.
- Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha* = STERNBACH, Ludwik et al. (eds.) 1974–2007: *Mahā-Subhāṣita-Samgraha*. Hoshiarpur, Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute /Vishveshvaranand Indological Series/.
- Mudrārākṣasa* = TELANG, Kāśīnāth Trimbak (ed.) 1915: *Mudrārākṣasa by Viśākhadatta with the commentary of Duṇḍhirāja*. Bombay, Tukārām Jāvajī.
- Pāṭatāḍitaka* = ONIANS, Isabelle (ed.) 2009: *The Quartet of Causeries by Śyāmilaka, Vararuci, Śūdraka & Īśvaradatta*. New York, New York University Press & JJC Foundation /Clay Sanskrit Library/.
- Priyadarśikā* = JACKSON, A. V. Williams (ed.) 1923: *Priyadarśikā. A Sanskrit Drama By King Harsha*. New York, Columbia University /Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series Volume Ten/.

- Rāmācarita* = MAJUMDAR, R. C. – BASAK, Radhagovinda – KAVYATIRTHA, Nandigo-pal Banerji (eds.) 1939: *The Rāmācaritam of Sandhyākaranandin*. Rajshahi, The Varendra Research Museum /‘Savitārāy’-Smṛti-Saṃrakṣaṇagranthamālā/.
- Setubandha* = KUMARI, Asha (ed.) 2002: *Setubandham. Text with Hindi and English Translation. Composed by Mahākavi Pravaraṣena*. Varanasi, Chaukhambha Bharati Academy /Jaikrishnadas-Krishnadas Prachya Vidya Granthamala 12/.
- Śiṣupālavadha* = DURGĀPRASĀD, Paṇḍit – ŚIVADATTA, Paṇḍit (eds.) 1905: *The Śiṣupālavadha of Māgha with the Commentary (Sarvankashā) of Mallinātha*. Bombay, Jāvaji’s “Nirṇaya-sāgara” Press.
- Uttarārāmācarita* = PARAB, Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍuraṅg – RATNAM AIYAR, T. R. (eds.) 1903 [1899]: *Uttara-Rāmācarita of Bhavabhūti with The Commentary of Virarāghava*. Bombay, Tukārām Jāvaji.
- Vāsavadattā* = SRINIVASACHARIAR, T. V. (ed.) 1906: *Vāsavadattā of Subandhu*. Trichinopoly, St Joseph’s College.

VEDIC LITERATURE

- Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* = SAMASRAMI, Acarya Satyavara (ed.) 1906: *The Aitareya Brahmana of the Rig-Veda with the Commentary of Sayana Acharya*. Calcutta, The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Atharvaveda* = ROTH, Rudolph – WHITNEY, William Dwight (Hrsg.) 1856: *Atharva Veda Sanhita*. Berlin, Ferdinand Dümmler’s Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* = FUJI Masato – KAJIHARA Mieko (eds.) 1992 (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/6_sastra/4_dharma/sutra/audhd_u.htm [accessed on: 28.11.2018.]).
- Gautama-dharmasūtra* = GOKHALE, Ganesa Sastrin (ed.) 1910, Pune (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/6_sastra/4_dharma/sutra/gautdh_u.htm [accessed on: 28.11.2018.]).
- Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa* = SARMA, E. R. Sheekrishna (ed.) 1968: *Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH.
- Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa* = KÜMMEL, Martin – GRIFFITHS, Arlo – KOBAYASHI, Masato (eds.) 2005: *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*. (electronic edition) Frankfurt am Main (<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/sv/pb/pb.htm> [accessed on: 14.01.2019.]).
- R̥gveda* = VAN NOOTEN, Barend – HOLLAND, Gary (eds.) 1995: *R̥g Veda: A Metrically Restored Text With an Introduction and Notes*. Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies /Harvard Oriental Series/.
- Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* = WEBER, Albrecht (ed.) 1855: *The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina-Çākhā with Extracts from the Commentaries of Sāyaṇa, Harisvāmin and Dvivedaganga*. Berlin, London, Ferdinand Dümmler’s Verlagsbuchhandlung – Williams and Norgate.
- Vaṃśa-brāhmaṇa* = PANDEY, Anshuman (ed.) 1998 (<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/sv/vb/vb.htm?vb002.htm> [accessed on: 04.12.2018.]).
- Yajurveda Taittirīya Saṃhitā* = WEBER, Albrecht (Hrsg.) 1871: *Die Taittirīya Saṃhitā. Erster Theil. Kāṇḍa I–IV*. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus.

OTHERS

- Amarakośa* = SATHAYE, Avinash – GANESAN, Pramod S. V. (eds.) 1997: *Amarakośa atha vā nāmaliṅgā ’nuśāsanam khāṇḍa 2*. (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/6_sastra/2_lex/amark2_u.htm [accessed on: 28.11.2018.]).
- Ānandakanda* = SHASTRI, S. V. Radhakrishna (ed.) 1952, Srirangam, Sri Vilasam Press (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/6_sastra/7_ayur/anandk_u.htm [accessed on: 03.12.2018.]).

- Arthaśāstra* = KANGLE, R. P. (ed.) 1960: *The Kautilya Arthaśāstra. Part I. A Critical Edition with a Glossary.* Bombay, University of Bombay /University of Bombay Studies Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali. No. 1/.
- Aṣṭādhyāyī* = KATRE, Sumitra M. (ed.) 1987: *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini.* Austin, University of Texas Press /Texas Linguistics Series/.
- Aṣṭāṅganighaṇṭu* = SHARMA, Priya Vrata 1973: *The Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṇṭu of Ācārya Vāhaṭa.* Madras, The Kuppaswamy Research Institute (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/6_sastra/7_ayur/va-nighpu.htm [accessed on: 03.12.2018.]).
- Aucityavicārarcā* = DURGĀPRASĀD, Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit – PARAB, Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang (eds.) 1929: *Kāvya-mālā. A collection of old and rare Sanskrit Kāvya, Nātakas, Champūs, Bhāṇas, Prahasanas, Chhandas, Alankāras & c. Part I.* Bombay, Pāṇḍurang Jāvajī.
- Bhāvaprakāśa* = GUPTA, Jaya Krishna Das Hari Das 1947, Benares (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/6_sastra/7_ayur/bhavpr_u.htm [accessed on: 03.12.2018.]).
- Dīghanikāya* = CARPENTER, Joseph Estlin – RHYS-DAVIDS, Thomas William (eds.) 1890: *The Dīgha Nikāya. Vol. I.* London, Henry Frowde.
- Gajāśāstra* = SUBRAHMANYA ŚĀSTRĪ, Mantramurti K. S. (ed.) 1958: *Gajāśāstram of Pālakāpya Muni with extracts from other works and Coloured Illustrations.* Tanjore, Saraswati Mahal Library.
- Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* = FAUSBØLL, Viggo (ed.) 1964: *The Jātaka Together With Its Commentary. Being Tales of the Anterior Births of Gotama Buddha. Vol. VI.* London, Luzac and Company.
- Kāmasūtra* = SHĀSTRĪ, Gosvāmī Dāmodar 1929: *The Kāmasūtra by Śrī Vātsyāyana Muni. With the Commentary of Yashodhar.* Benares, Jai Krishnadas-Haridas Gupta /The Kāshi Sanskrit Series (Haridās Sanskrit Granthamālā) No. 29/.
- Kāvya-darśa* = RANGACHARYA, Vidyābhūṣana Paṇḍit (ed.) 1938: *Kāvya-darśa of Daṇḍin.* Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute /Government Oriental Series Class A, Vol. IV/.
- Kāvya-lamkāra* = JAIN, Narendra Prakāś (ed.) 1983: *Śrīrudrātācāryaviracitaḥ kāvyā-lamkārah.* Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- Kāvyamīmāṃsā* = DALAL, C. D. – SHĀSTRY, R. Anantakrishna (eds.) 1916: *Kāvyamīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara.* Baroda, Central Library.
- Mahābhāṣya* = KIELHORN, Lorenz Franz (ed.) 1885: *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali. Volume III.* Bombay, The Department of Public Instruction.
- Mahāvagga* = OLDENBERG, Hermann (ed.) 1879: *The Vinaya Piṭakam. One of the Principal Buddhist Holy Scriptures in the Pāli Language. Vol. 1. The Mahāvagga.* Edinburgh, London, Williams and Norgate.
- Mahāvamsa* = GEIGER, Wilhelm (ed.) 1908: *The Mahāvamsa.* London, Luzac & Company Ltd.
- MALLINĀTHA comm. ad *Kīr* = DURGĀPRASĀD, Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit – PARAB, Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang (eds.) 1917: *The Kīrtarjuniya of Bhāravi with Commentary of Mallinātha and Various Readings.* Bombay, Tukārām Jāvajī.
- Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* = JAYASWAL, K. P. (ed.) 1934: *An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text [C. 700 B. C. – C. 770 A. D.] With a Special Commentary on Later Gupta Period.* Lahore, Motilal Banarsidass.
- Manusmṛti* = OLIVELLE, Patrick (ed.) 2005: *Manu's Code of Law. A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānava-dharmaśāstra.* New York, Oxford University Press.
- Nirukta* = BHADKAMKAR, H. M. (ed.) 1918: *The Nirukta of Yāska (with Nighaṇṭu) Edited with Durga's Commentary. Vol. I.* Bombay, The Department of Public Instruction /Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. LXXIII/.
- Pāśupatasūtra* = SĀSTRĪ, R. Anantakrishna (ed.) 1940: *Pasupata Sutras with Pancarthabhashya of Kaundinya.* Trivandrum, The Oriental Manuscripts Library of the University of Travancore /Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. CXLIII, Shri Chitrodayamanjari No. XXXIII/.
- Picumata* = HATLEY, Shaman (ed.) 2018: *The Brahmayāmala-tantra or Picumata, Volume I. Chapters 1–2, 39–40, & 83. Revelation, Ritual, & Material Culture in an Early Śaiva Tantra.* Pondichéry, Institut français de Pondichéry /Collection Indologie – 133 Early Tantra Series – 5/.

- Rājanighaṇṭu* = 1933, Calcutta, Siddheshvarayantra (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/6_sastra/7_ayur/rajnighu.htm [accessed on: 03.12.2018.]).
- Rājatarāṅgiṇī* = STEIN, Márk Aurél (ed.) 1988 [1892]: *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir. Volume III. Sanskrit Text with Critical Notes*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- Rasendracintāmaṇi* = MISRA, Siddhinanda (ed.) 2000: Benares, Caukhambha Orientalia (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/6_sastra/7_ayur/dhrasciu.htm [accessed on: 03.12.2018.]).
- RUCIPATI comm. ad *AR* = DURGĀPRASĀD, Paṇḍit – PANŚĪKAR, Wāsudev Laxman Śāstrī (eds.) 1937: *The Anargharāghava of Murāri with the Commentary of Ruchipati*. Bombay, Pāndurang Jāwajī /Kāv-yamālā 5/.
- Sāṅkhyakārikā* = COLEBROOKE, Henry Thomas (ed.) 1887: *The Sāṅkhya Kārikā by Īswara Krishna. The Bhāṣhya or Commentary of Gaudapāda*. Bombay, Tookaram Tatya.
- SĀYAṆA comm. ad *ŚB* = 1990, *The Śatapathabrāhmaṇa. According to the Mādhandina Recension with the Commentaries of Sāyaṇācārya and Harisvāmin. Part IV*. Delhi, Nag Publishers.
- Śilparatna* = ŚĀSTRĪ, K. Sāmbaśiva (ed.) 1929: *The Śilparatna of Śrī Kumāra. Part II*. Trivandrum, Maharani Regent of Travancore /Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XCVIII/.
- Śivadhanurveda* = *Śivadhanurvedasamhitā*. Maharishi University of Management Vedic Literature Collection (http://vedicreserve.mum.edu/dhanur_veda/shiva_dhanur_veda.pdf [accessed on: 29.11.2018.]).
- Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* = RAGHAVAN, Venkatarama (ed.) 1998: *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhoja. Part I*. Cambridge (Massachusetts), London, Harvard University.
- Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* = SHRIKRISHNADĀSA, Khemaraja (ed.) 1916: *The Trikāṇḍaśeṣa. A collection of Sanskrit Nouns by Sri Purushottamadeva king of Kalinga, India*. Bombay, Venkatesvara Steam Press.
- Viṣṇudharma* = GRÜNENDAHL, Reinhold (ed.) 1983–1989: *Viṣṇudharmāḥ: Precepts for the Worship of Viṣṇu*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/4_rellit/vaisn/vdhapadu.htm [accessed on: 10.01.2019.]).
- Viṣṇusmṛti* = KRISHNAMACHARYA, Pandit V. (ed.) 1964: *Viṣṇusmṛti with the Commentary Keśavavaijayanṭī of Nandapaṇḍita. [I–II]*. Madras, Adyar Library and Research Centre /The Adyar Library Series Vol. 93/.
- Yogasūtra* = BABA, Bengali (ed.) 1949 [1943]: *The Patanjala Yogasutra with Vyasa Commentary*. Poona, N. R. Bhargawa.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- ACHARYA, Diwakar 2005: The Role of Caṇḍa in the Early History of the Pāsupata Cult and the Image on the Mathurā Pillar Dated Gupta Year 61. In: *Indo-Iranian Journal*. Vol. 48, No. 3, 207–222.
- 2013: How to behave like a Bull? New Insight into the Origin and Religious Practices of Pāsupatas. In: *Indo-Iranian Journal*. Vol. 56, No. 2, 101–131.
- AGRAWALA, Vasudeva Sharana 1953: *India as known to Pāṇini. A Study of the Cultural Material in the Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Lucknow, University of Lucknow.
- AIYANGĀR, Nārāyan 1901: *Essays on Indo-Āryan Mythology Part II*. Madras, Addison and Co.
- AIYANGAR, S. Krishnaswami 1941: *Ancient India and South Indian History & Culture. Papers on Indian History and Culture Ancient India to A. D. 1300*. Poona, Oriental Book Agency /Poona Oriental Series No. 4/.
- 1942 [1923]: *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*. Calcutta, Calcutta University Press.
- ALI, Daud 2011: Kingship. In: Jacobson, Knut A. (ed.) *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism. Volume III: Society, Religious Specialists, Religious Traditions, Philosophy*. Boston, Leiden, Brill.
- ALLAN, John 1967 [1936]: *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauda*. Oxford, The Trustees of the British Museum.
- ALLEN, Gerald R. 1974: The Marine Crocodile, *Crocodylus porosus*, from Ponape, Eastern Caroline Islands, with Notes on Food Habits of Crocodiles from Palau Archipelago. In: *Copeia*. No. 2, 553.
- ALTEKAR, Anant Sadashiv 1947–1948: Nandsa Yupa Inscriptions. In: *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. 27, 252–267.
- AMER, Ayal 2013: Before The Story Begins: On Kumārasambhava I. In: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. Vol. 66, No. 1, 1–24.
- BACK, Dieter 1989: „Kameraführung” in Kalidasas Meghaduta. In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Supplement VII: XIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag*. 322–329.
- BAKKER, Hans T. 1982: The Rise of Ayodhyā as a Place of Pilgrimage. In: *Indo-Iranian Journal*. Vol. 24, No. 2, 103–126.
- 1986: *Ayodhyā. Part 2. Ayodhyāmāhātmya, introduction, edition and annotation*. Groningen, Egbert Forsten.
- 1991: The Footprints of the Lord. In: Eck, Diana L. – Mallison, François (eds.) *Devotion Divine. Bhakti Traditions from the Regions of India. Studies in Honour of Charlotte Vaudeville*. Groningen, Paris, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Egbert Forsten.
- 1997: *The Vākāṭakas. An Essay in Hindu Iconology*. Groningen, Egbert Forsten /Gonda Indological Studies 5/.
- 2006: A Theatre of Broken Dreams. Vidiśā in the Days of Gupta Hegemony. In: Brandtner, Martin – Panda, Shishir Kumar (eds.) *Interrogating History. Essays for Hermann Kulke*. New Delhi, Manohar.
- 2010: Royal Patronage and Religious Tolerance. The Formative Period of Gupta-Vākāṭaka Culture. In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. 20, No. 4, 461–475.
- 2014: *The World of the Skandapurāṇa*. Leiden, Brill.
- BALOGH Dániel 2015: *A Textual and Intertextual Study of the Mudrārākṣasa*. unpublished PhD dissertation submitted at ELTE, Budapest, available online at <http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/lingv/baloghdaniel/diss.pdf> (accessed on 28.08.2017.).
- BALOGH Dániel – SOMOGYI Eszter (transl.) 2009: *Mālavikā and Agnimitra by Kālidāsa*. New York, New York University Press & JJC Foundation /Clay Sanskrit Library/.
- BANERJI, Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyay 1919: A Seal of King Bhāskaravarman of Prāgyjotiṣa found at Nālanda. In: *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. Vol. 5, No. 3, 303–304.
- BARUA, Bahadur Rai K. L. 1933: *Early History of Kāmarūpa. From the Earliest Times to the End of the Sixteenth Century*. Shillong, The Don Bosco Industrial School Press.
- BASAK, Radhagovinda 1919: Chandra's Conquest of Bengal. In: *The Indian Antiquary*. Vol. 48, 98–101.
- 1919–1920: The Five Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Gupta Period. In: *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. 15, 113–145.

- BASHAM, Arthur L. 1959 [1954]: *The Wonder That Was India*. New York, The Macmillan Co.
- BAUTZE-PICRON, Claudine 2002: "Nidhis" and Other Images of Richness and Fertility in Ajañtā. In: *East and West*. Vol. 52, No. 1, 225–284.
- BAZIN, M. 1985: Angūr i. Production and trade. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/angur-grapes> (accessed on: 22.08.2017.).
- BEAL, Samuel 2001a [1884]: *Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of The Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629). Part I*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- 2001b [1884]: *Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of The Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629). Part II*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- BHANDARKAR, A. S. 1928: A Possible Identification of the Mount Devagiri Mentioned in Kalidasa's Meghaduta. In: *The Indian Antiquary*. Vol. 57, 23–24.
- BHANDARKAR, D. R. 1926: Parasika Dominion In Ancient India. In: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. Vol. 8, No. 1, 133–141.
- BHANDARKAR, R. G. 1933: A Peep into the Early History of India. In: Utgikar, Narayana Bapuji – Paranjpe, Vasudev Gopal (eds.) *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. Vol. I. Comprising Miscellaneous Articles, Reviews, Addresses & C.* Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute /Government Oriental Series Class B, No. 1/.
- BHARADWAJ, O. P. 1987: Is There Kurukṣetra-Kutsana In The Mahābhārata? In: Handa, Devendra (ed.) *Indological Studies: Essays in Memory of S. P. Singhal*. Delhi, Sundeep Prakashan.
- BHATTACHARJI, Sukumari 1987: Prostitution in Ancient India. In: *Social Scientist*. Vol. 15, No. 2, 32–61.
- BHATTACHARYYA, Narendra Nath 1971: *Indian Mother Goddess*. Calcutta, Indian Studies: Past & Present.
- BHATTARAI, Muralidhar w. d. *Nepal. Birth Place of Kalidasa*. Varanasi, Manohar Press.
- BIGGER, Andreas 2001: Wege und Umwege zum Himmel. Die Pilgerfahrten im Mahābhārata. In: *Journal Asiatique*. Vol. 289, No. 1, 147–166.
- BISSCHOP, Peter C. 2006: *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa. Sects and Centres*. Groningen, Egbert Forsten /Groningen Oriental Studies Volume XXI/.
- 2010a: Once Again on the Identity of Caṇḍeśvara in Early Śaivism: A rare Caṇḍeśvara in the British Museum? In: *Indo-Iranian Journal*. Vol. 53, No. 3, 233–249.
- 2010b: Śaivism in the Gupta-Vākāṭaka Age. In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. 20, No. 4, 477–488.
- BISWAS, Dilip Kumar 1949: The Maga Ancestry of Varāhamihira. In: *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 25, No. 3, 175–183.
- BOCCALI, Giuliano 2005: The sea in ancient India's literary landscape: Pravarasena's Setubandha 2.1–36. In: *Cracow Indological Studies*. Vol. 7, 115–123.
- BÖHTLINGK, Otto – ROTH, Rudolf 1865: *Sanskrit Wörterbuch. Vierter Theil*. St. Petersburg, Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 1871: *Sanskrit Wörterbuch. Sechster Theil*. St. Petersburg, Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 1875: *Sanskrit Wörterbuch. Siebter Theil*. St. Petersburg, Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- BONISOLI ALQUATI, Anna 2008: *Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa: An Analysis*. unpublished PhD dissertation submitted at Università degli Studi di Torino.
- 2009: The Description of the Hermitage. Raghuvamśa I 35–55. In: Rossi, Paola M. – Pieruccini, Cinzia (eds.) *Kings and Ascetics in Indian Classical Literature*. Milano, Cisalpino.
- BOPP, Franz 1847: *Glossarium Sanscritum in quo omnes radices et vocabula usitatissima explicantur et cum vocabulis Graecis, Latinis, Germanicis, Lithuanicis, Slavicis, Celticis comparantur*. Berlin, Berolini, Libreria Dümmleriana (Grube & Harwitz).
- BOYCE, Mary 1982: *A History of Zoroastrianism. Volume Two. Under the Achaemenians*. Leiden, Köln, E. J. Brill.

- BRAULIK, Gillian Tracey (et al.) 2015: On Species or Two? Vicariance, Lineage Divergence and Low mtDNA Diversity in Geographically Isolated Populations of South Asian River Dolphin. In: *Journal of Mammalian Evolution*. Vol. 22, No. 1, 111–120.
- BRINKHAUS, Horst 1992: Early Developmental Stages of the Viṣṇuprādurbhāva Lists. In: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*. Vol. 36. *Supplement Proceedings of the VIIIth World Sanskrit Conference Vienna 1990*. 101–110.
- 2011–2012: Die Narakavadha-Episode in der episch-purāṇischen Sanskrit-Literatur – eine textgeschichtliche Studie. In: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie*. Vol. 54, 35–83.
- BROCKINGTON, John L. 1993 [1981]: *The Sacred Thread. Hinduism in its Continuity and Diversity*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- 1998: *The Sanskrit Epics*. Leiden, Boston, Köln, Brill.
- BRONNER, Yigal 2010: *Extreme Poetry. The South Asian Movement of Simultaneous Narration*. New York, Columbia University Press.
- CALLIERI, Pierfrancesco 2004: India iv. Relations: Seleucid, Parthian, Sasanian Periods. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/india-iv-relations> (accessed on 22.08.2017.).
- CHAKLADAR, Haran Chandra 1963: *The Geography of Kālidāsa*. Calcutta, Indian Studies Past & Present.
- CHAKRAVARTI, Niranjan Prasad 1955–1956: Brahmi Inscriptions from Bandhogarh. In: *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. 31, 167–186.
- CHAKRAVARTI, Prithwis Chandra 1930: Naval Warfare in Ancient India. In: *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 4, No. 4, 645–664.
- CHANDRA, Moti 1977: *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*. New Delhi, Abhinav Publications.
- CHARPENTIER, Jarl 1927: Śūrpāraka. In: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. No. 1, 111–115.
- CHATTOPADHYAYA, B. D. 1997: The City in Early India: Perspectives from Texts. In: *Studies in History*. Vol. 13, No. 2, 181–208.
- CHAUDHURI, S. B. 1950: Hūṇas, Yavanas and Kāmbojas. In: *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 26, No. 2, 118–127.
- CHOUDHURY, Mantosh Chandra 1987: The Beginnings of Brahmanic Settlements in Ancient Assam. In: *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*. Vol. 14, 106–115.
- CHOWDHARY, Radhakrishna 1955: Bihar in Kālidāsa's works. In: *The Journal of the Bihar Research Society*. Vol. 41, No. 3, 262–270.
- COLAS, Gérard 1999: The Criticism and Transmission of Texts in Classical India. In: *Diogenes*. Vol. 47, No. 2, 30–43.
- COLLINS, Mark 1907: *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Daśakumāracarita*. Leipzig, G. Kreising.
- DANDEKAR, R. N. 1941: *A History of the Guptas*. Poona, Oriental Book Agency.
- DAVIDSON, H. R. Ellis 1990 [1964]: *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*. St Ives, Penguin Group.
- DE, Sushil Kumar (ed.) 1970 [1957]: *Megha-Dūta of Kālidāsa*. New Delhi, Sahitya Akademi.
- DEJENNE, Nicolas 2011: Sacred history of the Rāmakṣetra in the Vāḍeśvarodayakāvya. In: Murphy, Anne (ed.) *Time, History And The Religious Imaginary In South Asia*. Abingdon Oxon, Routledge.
- DERRETT, John – DUNCAN, Martin 1959: Bhū-bharāṇa, Bhū-pālana, Bhū-bhojana: An Indian Conundrum. In: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. Vol. 22, No. 1, 108–123.
- DESHPANDE, Madhav M. 1993: *Sanskrit & Prakrit. Sociolinguistic Issues*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass /MLBD Series in Linguistics Vol. 6/.
- 2010: Pañca Gauḍa and Pañca Drāviḍa: Contested Borders of a Traditional Classification. In: *Studia Orientalia*. Vol. 108, 29–58.
- DESSIGANE, R. – PATTABIRAMIN, P. Z. – FILLIOZAT, J. 1960: *La légende des jeux de Diva a Madurai*. Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie.
- DE TEMMERMAN, Koen 2012: Chariton. In: de Jong, Irene J. F. (ed.) *Space in Ancient Greek Literature. Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*. Boston, Leiden, Brill.

- DEY, Nando Lal 1914: Notes on Ancient Aṅga. In: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Vol. 10, No. 9, 317–347.
- 1979 [1927]: *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*. New Delhi, Cosmo Publications.
- DEZSŐ Csaba 2014: 'We do not fully understand the learned poet's intention in not composing a twentieth canto': Addiction as a Structuring Theme in the Raghuvamśa. In: *South Asian Studies*. Vol. 30, No. 2, 159–172.
- DONALDSON, Thomas Eugene 1995: The Cult of Paraśurāma and its Popularity in Orissa. In: Vyas, R. T. (ed.) *Studies in Jaina Art and Iconography and Allied Subjects in Honour of Dr. U. P. Shah*. Vadodara, Abhinav Publications.
- DORAI RANGASWAMY, M. A. 1958: *The Religion and Philosophy of Tēvāram. With special reference to Nampī Ārūrar (Sundarar). Book I. (Volumes I & II)*. Madras, University of Madras.
- DUBEY, D. P. 2001: *Kumbha Mela. Pilgrimage to the Greatest Cosmic Fair*. Allahabad, Society of Pilgrimage Studies / Pilgrimage Studies No. 6/.
- DYMOCK, William – WARDEN, C. J. H. – HOOPER, David 1891: *Pharmacographia Indica. A History of the Principal Drugs of Vegetable Origin, Met with in British India. Vol. II*. London, Keegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- 1893: *Pharmacographia Indica. A History of the Principal Drugs of Vegetable Origin, Met with in British India. Vol. III*. London, Keegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- ECK, Diana L. 2012: *India: A Sacred Geography*. New York, Harmony Books.
- ELIOT, Charles 1921: *Hinduism and Buddhism. An Historical Sketch. Volume III*. London, Edward Arnold & Co.
- FELLER, Danielle 2012: Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Kālidāsa: References to the divinities in the Meghadūta. In: *Asiatische Studien. Études Asiatiques*. Vol. 66, No. 2, 307–325.
- FLEET, John Faithfull 1888: Texts and Translations. In: *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing / Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. III/.
- FLEMING, Benjamin J. 2014: Manuscripts and Shifting Geographies: The Dvādaśajyotirlingastotra from the Deccan College as Case Study. In: Fleming, Benjamin J. – Mann, Richard D. (eds.) *Material Culture and Asian Religions*. Abingdon Oxon, New York, Routledge.
- FOHR, Sherry 2015: *Jainism. A Guide for the Perplexed*. London, New Delhi, New York, Sidney, Bloomsbury.
- FOUCHER, Alfred 1900: *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*. Paris, Ernest Leroux.
- FRANCIS, Emmanuel 2011: The Genealogy of the Pallavas: From Brahmins to Kings. In: *Religions of South Asia*. Vol. 5, 339–363.
- 2013: *Le discours royal dans l'Inde du Sud ancienne. Inscriptions et monuments pallava (IV^{ème}–IX^{ème} siècles)*. Louvain, Institut Orientaliste Louvain-La-Neuve.
- FURUI Ryosuke 2017: Variegated Adaptations: State Formation in Bengal from the Fifth to the Seventh Century (Republished Version). In: Noboru Karashima – Masashi Hirose (eds.) *State Formation and Social Integration in Pre-modern South and Southeast Asia: A Comparative Study of Asian Society*. Tokyo, The Toyo Bunko.
- GAÁL Balázs 2015: *A vegetarianizmus eszményének formái és változásai a klasszikus ókorban*. unpublished PhD dissertation submitted at ELTE, Budapest, available online at <http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/lingv/gaal-balazs/diss.pdf> (accessed on 05.09.2017.).
- GAIL, Adalbert J. 1978: Paraśurāma brahmin and warrior. In: *Indologica taurinensia*. Vol. 6, 151–154.
- GANGULY, D. C. 1938: The Early Home of the Imperial. Guptas. In: *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 14, No. 3, 532–535.
- GAWROŃSKI, Andrzej 1914–1918: The digvijaya of Raghu and some connected problems. In: *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*. Vol. 1, 43–82.
- GEROW, Edwin 1971: *A Glossary of Indian Figures of Speech*. The Hague, Paris, Mouton.
- 1977: *Indian Poetics*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz / A History of Indian Literature Vol. V Fasc. 3/.

- GHOSH, Amalananda 1973: *The City in Early Historical India*. Simla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study.
- GOLDBERG, Ellen 2013: Ardhanārīśvara: An Androgynous Model of God. In: Diller, Jeanine – Kasher, Asa (eds.) *Models of God and Alternative Ultimate Realities*. Dordrecht, Springer.
- GONDA, Jan 1954: *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*. Utrecht, N. V. A. Oosthoek's Uitgevers Mij.
- GOODALL, Dominic 2001: Edition of Earliest Commentary on the Raghuvamśa. In: Grimal, François (ed.) *Les sources et le temps. Sources and Time*. Pondichéry, Institut Français de Pondichéry, École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- 2018: Rudraṅnikās: Courtesans in Śiva's Temple? Some Hitherto Neglected Sanskrit Sources. In: *Cracow Indological Studies*. Vol. 20, No. 1, 91–143.
- GOODALL, Dominic – ISAACSON, Harunaga 2003: *The Raghupāṇcikā of Vallabhadeva Volume 1*. Groningen, Egbert Forsten Publishing.
- GRABOWSKA, Barbara 2005: The mountain and the cave in the Kṛṣṇa myth. In: Vacek, Jaroslav (ed.) *Pandanus '05: Nature in Literature, Myth and Ritual*. Prague, Signeta.
- GRANOFF, Phyllis 2003: Mahākāla's Journey: From Gaṇa to God. In: *Rivista degli studi orientali*. Vol. 77, No. 1, 95–114.
- HARA, Minoru 1969: A Note On The Epic Folk-Etymology Of Rājan. In: *The Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute Allahabad*. Vol. 25, 489–499.
- HART, George Luzerne 1976: *The Relation Between Tamil and Classical Sanskrit Literature*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz /A History of Indian Literature Volume X Fasc. 2/.
- HARTMANN, Jens-Uwe 2004: »Himmel und Erde mit einem Namen begreifen« Das indische Drama Shākuntala. In: Hose, Martin (Hrsg.) *Große Texte alter Kulturen. Literarische Reise von Gizeh nach Rom*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- HAZRA, Rajendra Chandra 1949: Text and Interpretation of some Verses of the Meghadūta. In: *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 25, No. 4, 275–286.
- HEGARTY, James 2012: *Religion, Narrative and Public Imagination in South Asia. Past and Place in the Sanskrit Mahābhārata*. London, New York, Routledge.
- HEIDEGGER, Martin 2000 [1951]: Bauen Wohnen Denken. In: von Hermann, Friedrich-Wilhelm (Hrsg.) *Martin Heidegger Gesamtausgabe. I. Abteilung: Veröffentlichte Schriften 1910–1976. Band 7. Vorträge und Aufsätze*. Frankfurt am Main, Vittorio Klostermann.
- HINDS, Stephen 2006: Landscape with figures: aesthetics of place in the *Metamorphoses* and its tradition. In: Hardie, Philip (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion To Ovid*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- HODIVALA, Shapurji Kavasji 1920: *Parsis of Ancient India*. Bombay, Sanj Vartanam /Dorab Saklatwalla Memorial Series No. II/.
- HORA, Sunder Lal 1952: Fish in the Rāmāyaṇa. In: *Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters*. Vol 18, No. 2, 63–70.
- INDRAJĠ, Bhagvānlāl 1896: Early History of Gujarāt (B. C. 319 – A. D. 1304). In: Campbell, James M. (ed.) *History of Gujarāt. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Vol. I. Part. I*. Bombay, Government Central Press.
- INGALLS, Daniel H. H. 1976: Kālidāsa and the Attitudes of the Golden Age. In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. 96, No. 1, 15–26.
- JACOBI, Hermann 1893: *Das Rāmāyaṇa*. Bonn, Verlag von Friedrich Cohen.
- JAIN, Kailash Chand 1972: *Malwa through the Ages (From the Earliest Time to 1305 A. D.)*. Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, Motilal Banarsidass.
- JAYASWAL, K. P. 1934: *An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text [C. 700 B. C.–C. 770 A. D.] With a Special Commentary on Later Gupta Period*. Lahore, Motilal Banarsidass.
- JONES, Horace Leonard 1930: *The Geography of Strabo. Vol. 7*. London, New York, William Henemann Ltd, G. P. Puntam's sons.
- 1961 [1928]: *The Geography of Strabo. Vol. 5*. London, Cambridge (Massachusetts), William Heinemann Ltd, Harvard University Press.
- KALE, Moreshwar Ramchandra 1947 [1926]: *The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa. With the commentary (Saṃjīvanī) of Mallinātha*. Bombay, B. D. Mulgaokar.

- KALLA, Lacchmī Dhar 1926: *The Birth-Place of Kalidasa*. Delhi, University of Delhi /The Delhi University Publications No. I/.
- KANE, Pandurang Vaman 1946: *History of Dharmasāstra. Vol. III*. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- KARMAKAR, R. D. 1971: *Kālidāsa*. Dharwar, Karnatak University /Extension Lectures Series 4/.
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 2009: *simhair iti vyāghraiḥ*. In: Balbir, Nalini – Pinault, Georges-Jean (eds.) *Penser, dire et représenter l'animal dans le monde indien*. Paris, H. Champion.
- KAUL, Shonaleeka 2010: *Imagining the Urban. Sanskrit and the City in Early India*. Ranikhet, Permanent Black.
- KEITH, Arthur Berriedale 1956 [1920]: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. London, Oxford University Press.
- KERSENBOOM, Saskia 2013: Devadāsīs/Courtesans. In: Jacobsen, Knut A. (ed.) *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism. Volume V: Religious Symbols. Hinduism and Migration: Contemporary Communities outside South Asia. Some Modern Religious Groups and Teachers*. Boston, Leiden, Brill.
- KIBE, M. V. 1928: Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā located in Central India. In: *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 4, No. 4, 694–702.
- 1935–1935: Further Light on Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā located in Central India from Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. In: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. Vol. 18, 371–384.
- 1947. *Location of Lanka*. Poona, Manohar Mahadeo Kelkar.
- KIELHORN, Lorenz Franz 1905–1906a: Talagunda Pillar Inscription of Kakusthavarman. In: *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. 8, 24–36.
- 1905–1906b: Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman; The Year 72. In: *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. 8, 36–49.
- KIRFEL, Willibald 1990 [1920]: *Die Kosmographie der Inder nach den Quellen dargestellt*. Hildesheim, New York, Zürich, Georg Olms Verlag.
- KRAMRISCH, Stella 1946: *The Hindu Temple. Vol. I*. Calcutta, University of Calcutta.
- KULKE, Hermann – ROTHERMUND, Dietmar 2002 [1986]: *A History of India*. London, New York, Taylor & Francis Group.
- KURBANOV, Aydogdy 2010: *The Hephthalites: Archaeological and Historical Analysis*. unpublished PhD dissertation submitted at Freie Universität, Berlin, available online at http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/FUDISS_derivate_000000007165/01_Text.pdf (accessed on 28.08.2017.).
- LA VAISSIÈRE, Étienne de 2016: Kushanshahs. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kushanshahs-01> (accessed on 22.08.2017.).
- LAW, Bimala Churn 1943: *Tribes in Ancient India*. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute /Bhandarkar Oriental Series No. 4/.
- LEFEBVRE, Henri 1991: *The Production of Space. (La production de l'espace)*. translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith) Cambridge (Massachusetts), Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- LEGGE, James 1886: *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms. Being an account by the Chinese Monk Fā-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon. (A. D. 399–414). In Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- LÉVI, Sylvain 1929: Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India. In: Bhagchi, P. C. (ed.) *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. Calcutta, Calcutta University Press.
- LITVINSKY, B. A. 2003: Helmet i. In Pre-Islamic Iran. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/helmet-i> (accessed on 22.08.2017.).
- MACDONALD, George 1922: The Hellenic Kingdoms Of Syria, Bactria And Parthia. In: Rapson, E. J. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of India. Volume I. Ancient India*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- MACDONELL, Arthur Anthony – KEITH, Arthur Berriedale 1912: *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects. Vol. I*. London, John Murray /Indian Texts Series/.
- MAJUMDAR, Ramesh Chandra 1954 [1946]: Foundation of the Gupta Empire. In: Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra – Altekar, Anant Sadashiv (eds.) *The Vākātaka-Gupta Age*. Banaras, Motilal Banarsidass.

- 1962 [1954]: Northern India After the Break-up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A. D.). In: Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra (ed.) *The History and Culture of the Indian People. Volume III. The Classical Age*. Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- MALEKANDATHIL, Pius 2010: *Maritime India. Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*. Delhi, Primus Books.
- MALLINSON, James (transl.) 2006: *Messenger Poems by Kālidāsa, Dhoyī & Rūpa Gosvāmin*. New York, New York University Press & JJC Foundation /Clay Sanskrit Library/.
- MANI, Vettam 1984 [1964]: *Purāṇic Encyclopaedia*. Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, Madras, Motilal Banarsidass.
- MANN, Richard D. 2012: *The Rise of Mahāsena. The Transformation of Skanda-Kārttikeya in North India from the Kuṣāṇa to Gupta Empires*. Boston, Leiden, Brill /Brill's Indological Library Volume 39/.
- MAYRHOFER, Manfred 1996: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen. II. Band*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- 2001: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen. III. Band*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- MAZUMDAR, B. C. 1909: The Date of Kālidāsa. In: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. No. 3, 731–739.
- MCCRINDLE, John Watson 1877: *Ancient India as described by Megasthenēs and Arrian*. London, Trübner & Co.
- MEINHARD, Heinrich 1928: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Śivaismus nach den Purāṇa's*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) A. G.
- MEYER, William Stevenson – BURN, Richard – COTTON, James Sutherland – RISLEY, Herbert Hope 1908: *The Imperial Gazetteer of India. Vol. XII. Einme to Gwalior*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- MIRASHI, Vishnu Vasudev 1946: An Ancient Śaka Dynasty of Māhiṣmatī. In: *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 22, No. 1, 34–41.
- 1955: Introduction. In: Mirashi, Vishnu Vasudev (ed.) *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*. Ootacamund, Government Epigraphist for India /Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. 4/.
- 1960: *Studies in Indology. Vol. I*. Nagpur, The Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandal.
- 1963: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. V. Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*. Ootacamund, Archaeological Survey of India.
- 1966: *Studies in Indology. Vol. IV*. Varanasi, The Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandal.
- 1968: Location of the hermitage of Agastya in the Deccan. In: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*. Vol. 48–49, 197–202.
- 1982: Identification of Kuntaleśvara. In: *S. V. University Oriental Journal*. Vol. 21–22, 169–178.
- MIRASHI, Vishnu Vasudev – NAVLEKAR, Narayan Raghunath 1969: *Kālidāsa. Date, Life and Works*. Bombay, Popular Prakashan.
- MONIER-WILLIAMS, Monier 2012 [1899]: *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi, Nataraj Books.
- MOOKERJI, Radhakumud 1947: *The Gupta Empire*. Bombay, Hind Kitab Ltd.
- MUKHERJEE, Ramarajan – MAITY, Sachindra Kumar 1967: *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*. Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay.
- MUNSHI, Kanaiyalal M. 1922: The Māhiṣmatī of Kārtavīrya. In: *The Indian Antiquary*. Vol. 5, 217–221.
- NANDARGIKAR, Gopal Raghunath (transl.) 1971 [1897]: *The Raghuvamśa Of Kālidāsa With The Commentary Of Mallinātha*. Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- NARIMAN, Gushtaspshah Kaikhushro 1912: The Kambojas. In: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. No. 1, 255–257.
- NJAMMASCH, Marlene 1971: Akhanivi-Schenkungen an Klöster und Tempel im Dekhan unter den Sāta-vāhanas. In: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. Vol. 24, No. 2, 203–215.
- OLIVELLE, Patrick 1990: Village vs. Wilderness: Ascetic Ideals and the Hindu World. In: Creel, Austin B. – Narayanan, Vasudha (eds.) *Monastic Life in the Christian and Hindu Traditions*. Lewiston, Edwin Mellen.
- 2006: *The Five Discourses On Worldly Wisdom By Viṣṇuśarman*. New York, New York University Press & JJC Foundation /Clay Sanskrit Library/.

- OLSHAUSEN, Justus 1876: *Parthava und Pahlav, Māda und Māh*. Berlin, Buchdruckerei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- PANOFSKY, Ervin 1980 [1924–1925]: Die Perspektive als Symbolische Form. In: Oberer, Hariolf – Verheyen, Egon (Hrsg.) *Aufsätze zu Grundfragen der Kunstwissenschaft*. Berlin, Verlag Volker Spiess.
- PARANAVITANA, S. 1955: Śaṅkha and Padma. In: *Artibus Asiae*. Vol. 18, No. 2, 121–127.
- PARASHER, Aloka 1991: *Mlecchas in Early India. A Study in Attitudes towards Outsiders upto AD 600*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal.
- PARGITER, Frederick Eden 1904: *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Calcutta, The Asiatic Society.
- 1913: *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age with Introduction and Notes*. London, Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press.
- 1922: *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*. London, Oxford University Press.
- PARPOLA, Asko 2002: Πανδαῦ and Sītā: On the Historical Background of the Sanskrit Epics. In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. 122, No. 2, 361–373.
- PATHAK, Kashinath Bapu (ed.) 1916 [1894]: *Kālidāsa's Meghadūta or The Cloud-Messenger (As embodied in the Pārsvābhyaḍaya) with The Commentary of Mallinātha, Literal English Translation, Variant Readings, Critical Notes, Appendixes and Introduction, determining the date of Kālidāsa from latest antiquarian researches*. Poona, Aryabhushan Press.
- PETERSON, Indira Viswanathan 2007 [1991]: *Poems to Śiva. The Hymns of the Tamil Saints*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- POLLOCK, Sheldon 2006: *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men. Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press.
- PONTILLO, Tiziana 2009: Where the Ascetics Lead their Life of Austerities there Peace and Beauty are. What Makes a Place an āśrama in the Mahābhārata and in Kālidāsa's Work. In: Rossi, Paola M. – Pieruccini, Cinzia (eds.) *Kings and Ascetics in Indian Classical Literature*. Milano, Cisalpino.
- PONTILLO, Tiziana – ROSSI, Paola 2003: Sea-images in pre-Kāvya literature: the relationship between Mahābhārata and Pāli Buddhist canon occurrences. In: Vacek, Jaroslav (ed.) *Pandanus '03: Nature Symbols in Literature*. Prague, Signeta.
- PRAKASH, Buddha 1956: The Geographical And Cultural Aspects Of The Northern Itinerary Of Raghu As Described By Kālidāsa. In: *Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters*. Vol. 22, No. 2, 245–260.
- 1957: “Daiva-putra-śāhī-śāhanuśāhī” in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. In: *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 33, No. 2, 119–128.
- PRAKASH, Om 1965: The Problem Of The First Traditional King. In: *Purāṇa*. Vol. 7, No. 1, 128–135.
- PUSKÁS Ildikó 1990: Magasthenes and the “Indian Gods” Herakles and Dionysos. In: *Mediterranean Studies*. Vol. 2, 39–47.
- RAJENDRAN, Chettiarthodi 2005: Humanizing nature – a study in the imagery of Kālidāsa. In: *Cracow Indological Studies*. Vol. 7, 19–27.
- 2006: Encountering the forest: Kālidāsa's perceptions on hunting. In: Vacek, Jaroslav (ed.) *Pandanus '06 Nature in Literature and Ritual*. Prague, Triton.
- RAMADAS, G. 1928: Rāvaṇa's Lañkā. In: *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 4, No. 2, 339–346.
- RAO, T. A. Gopinatha 1916: *Elements of Hindu Iconography. Vol. II—Part II*. Madras, The Law Printing House.
- RAO, Velcheru Narayana – SHULMAN David (transl.) 2009: *How Ūrvashi Was Won by Kālidāsa*. New York, New York – JJC Foundation /Clay Sanskrit Library/.
- RAPSON, E. J. 1898: *Indian Coins*. Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner /Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research Vol. II Part 3b/.
- 1916: *Ancient India. From the Earliest Times to the First Century A. D.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- 1922a: The Successors of Alexander the Great. In: Rapson, E. J. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of India. Volume I. Ancient India*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- 1922b: The Scythian and Parthian Invaders. In: Rapson, E. J. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of India. Volume I. Ancient India*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

- RAY, Jogesh Chandra 1932: Fire-Arms in Ancient India. In: *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 8, No. 2, 267–271.
- RAYCHAUDHURI, Hemchandra 1923: *Political History of Ancient India. From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty*. Calcutta, University of Calcutta.
- RENNER Zsuzsanna 2012: *Viṣṇu Varāha (Vadkan) avatārāja az indiai szövegekben és művészetben*. unpublished PhD dissertation submitted at ELTE, Budapest, available online at: <http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/rennerzsuzsanna/dissn.pdf> (accessed on 16.02.2018.).
- RICHMAN, Paula 2001: Questioning and Multiplicity Within the Ramayana Tradition. In: Richman, Paula (ed.) *Questioning Ramayanas. A South Asian Tradition*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press.
- RICHTER, Kai Florian – WINTER, Stephan 2014: *Landmarks. GIScience for Intelligent Services*. Cham, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, London, Springer.
- ROCHER, Ludo 1986: *The Purāṇas*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz /A History of Indian Literature Vol. II Fasc. 3/.
- ROHKRÄMER, Thomas – SCHULZ, Felix Robin 2009: Space, Place and Identities. In: *History Compass*. Vol. 7, No. 5, 1338–1349.
- ROONEY, Dawn F. 1993: *Betel Chewing Traditions in South-East Asia*. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford, Singapore, New York, Oxford University Press /Images of Asia/.
- ROSSI, Paola Maria 2009: Desire and Non-Desire. The Forest of Asceticism in the Poetry of Āśvaghoṣa. In: Rossi, Paola M. – Pieruccini, Cinzia (eds.) *Kings and Ascetics in Indian Classical Literature*. Cisalpino, Milano.
- ROY, Brajdeo Prasad 1966: Īrān as known to Kālidāsa. In: *Indo-Iranica: the quarterly organ of the Iran Society*. Vol. 19, No. 2, 23–28.
- RUBEN, Walter 1957: Rāmas Heimflug im Rāmāyaṇa und Raghuvamśa. In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Vol. 107, No. 3, 575–594.
- RUIZ-FALQUÉS, Aleix 2015: A New Reading Of The Meghadūta. In: Leach, Robert – Pons, Jessie (eds.) *Puspikā. Tracing Ancient India Through Texts and Traditions. Contributions to Current Research in Indology. Volume III*. Oxford, Philadelphia, Oxbow Books.
- RUZSA Ferenc 1997: *A klasszikus szánkhja filozófiája*. Budapest, Farkas Lőrinc Imre Könyvkiadó.
- SADHALE, Nalini – NENE, Y. L. 2004: On Elephants in Manasollasa – 1. Characteristics, Habitat, Methods of Capturing and Training. online version reproduced from *Asian Agri-History*. Vol. 8, No. 1, 5–25, <https://www.asianagrihistory.org/pdf/articles/E-1.pdf> (accessed on 25.02.2019.).
- SALOMON, Richard 2016: Concatenation in Kālidāsa and Other Sanskrit Poets. In: *Indo-Iranian Journal*. Vol. 59, No. 1, 48–60.
- SARKAR, Ranajit 1979: Town and Country: the image of exile in Meghadūta. In: *Indologica Taurinensia*. Vol. 7, 351–360.
- ŚĀSTRĪ, Hirananda 1917–1918: Haraha Inscription of the Reign of Isanavarman: [Vikrama Samvat] 611. In: *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. 14, 110–120.
- SĀSTRĪ, K. A. Nilakanta 1954 [1946]: South India. In: Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra – Altekar, Anant Sadashiv (eds.) *The Vākātaka-Gupta Age*. Banaras, Motilal Banarsidass.
- SAX, William S. 2000: Conquering the quarters: Religion and politics in Hinduism. In: *International Journal of Hindu Studies*. Vol. 4. No. 1. 39–60.
- SCHAMA, Simon 1995: *Landscape and Memory*. New York, Vintage Books.
- SCHUBRING, Walther 1955: Jinasena, Mallinātha, Kālidāsa. In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Vol. 105, 331–337.
- SHAFER, Robert 1954: *Ethnography of Ancient India*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz.
- SHAH, J. J. 2014: Date palm cultivation in India: An overview of activities. In: *Emirates Journal of Food & Agriculture*. Vol. 26, No. 11, 987–999.
- SHAHBAZI, A. Shapur 1986: Army i. Pre-Islamic Iran. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/army-i> (accessed on 22.08.2017.).

- 1987: Asb i. In Pre-Islamic Iran. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/asb-horse-equus-cabullus-av#pt1> (accessed on 22.08.2017.).
- 2005: Sasanian Dynasty. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/sasanian-dynasty> (accessed on 17.01.2019.).
- SHARMA, Brijendra Nath 1973: Rāvaṇa Lifting Mount Kailāsa in Indian Art. In: *East and West*. Vol. 23, No. 3–4, 327–338.
- SHARMA, Tej Ram 1978: *Personal and Geographical Names in the Gupta Inscriptions*. Delhi, Concept Publishing Company.
- SHASTRI, Haraprasad 1913–1914: Mandasor Inscription of the Time of Naravarman; the Malava Year 461. In: *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. 12, 315–321.
- SHULMAN, David 2014: Waking Aja. In: Bronner, Yigal – Shulman, David – Tubb, Gary (eds.) *Innovations and Turning Points. Toward A History of Kāvya Literature*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, Nicholas 2008: The Sasanians in the East. A Bactrian archive from northern Afghanistan. In: Curtis, Vesta Sarkosh – Stewart, Saraha (eds.) *The Sasanian Era. The Idea of Iran. Volume III*. London, New York, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd.
- SIRCAR, Dinesh Chandra 1953–1954: Dubi Plates of Bhaskaravarman. In: *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. 30, 287–304.
- 1959: *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India. Vol. I. Society*. Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay.
- 1961–1962: Crystal Intaglio in British Museum. In: *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. 34, 275–284.
- 1969: *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*. Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal.
- 1971a: *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*. Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, Motilal Banarsidass.
- 1971b: *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*. Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- SIRCAR, Dinesh Chandra – CHAUDHURY, P. D. 1955–1956: Umachal Rock Inscription of Surendravarman. In: *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. 31, 67–69.
- SIVARAJA PILLAI, K. N. w. d: *Agastya in the Tamil Land*. Mylapore, University of Madras.
- SMITH, David 1992: Construction And Deconstruction, Narrative And Anti-Narrative: The Representation Of Reality In The Hindu Court Epic. In: Shackleton, Christopher – Snell, Rupert (eds.) *The Indian Narrative. Perspectives And Patterns*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz /Khoj – A Series of Modern South Asian Studies Vol. 4/.
- (transl.) 2009: *The Birth of Kumāra by Kālidāsa*. New York, New York University Press & JJC Foundation /Clay Sanskrit Library/.
- SMITH, Vincent Arthur 1893: Observations on the Gupta Coinage. In: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. 77–148.
- SOHONI, Shridhar Vasudev 1957: Samudragupta's Expedition Against Persia (356–362 A. D.). In: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*. Vol. 38, 217–224.
- 1979: Guptas, Kadambas, Pallavas and Kālidāsa. In: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. Vol. 60, 1–40.
- 1984: Raghu's digvijaya in the Himālayas. In: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. Vol. 65, No. 4, 163–194.
- SRIVASTAVA, V. C. 1972: *Sun-Worship In Ancient India*. Allahabad, Indological Publications.
- STADTNER, Donald 1975: A Śuṅga Capital from Vidiśā. In: *Artibus Asiae*. Vol. 37, No. 1, 101–104.
- STCHOUPAK, Nadine – RENOU, Louis 1946: *La Kāvya-mīmāṃsā de Rājasekhara*. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale.
- STEIN Márk Aurél 1988 [1892]: *Kalhana's Rājataranginī. Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir. Volume III. Sanskrit Text with Critical Notes*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- STEINBOCK, Anthony J. 2007: *Phenomenology and Mysticism. The Verticality of Religious Experience*. Bloomington, Indianapolis, Indiana University Press /Indiana Series in the Philosophy of Religion/.

- STOLER MILLER, Barbara 1984: Kālidāsa's Verbal Icon: Aṣṭamūrti Śiva. In: Meister, Michael W. (ed.) *Discourses on Śiva. Proceedings of a Symposium on the Nature of Religious Imagery*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- SZÁLER Péter 2017: Balarāma's Pilgrimage to the Sacred Sites along the Sarasvatī. In: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. Vol. 70, No. 3, 317–345.
- 2019: Who Was Śalya's Father? Examining the Genealogy of an Epic Hero. In: *Asiatische Studien. Études Asiatiques*. Vol. 73, No. 1, 111–120.
- SZILÁGYI János György 1977: *Arachné*. In: *Antik Tanulmányok*. Vol. 24, No. 2, 125–191.
- TAFÁZZOLI, Aḥmad 1997: Education ii. In The Parthian And Sasanian Periods. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/education-ii> (accessed on 22.08.2017.).
- TAKAKUSU, J. 1904: *The Life of Vasu-Bandhu by Paramārtha (A. D. 499–569)*. In: *T'oung Pao*. Vol. 5, No. 3, 269–296.
- TARN, William Woodthorpe 1938: *The Greeks in Bactria & India*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- THAPAR, Romila 1971: The Image of the Barbarian in Early India. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Vol. 13, No. 4, 408–436.
- THOMAS, F. W. 1922: Political and Social Organisation of the Maurya Empire. In: Rapson, E. J. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of India. Volume I. Ancient India*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- TÓTH Ibolya 2016: Rámgarh Hill-i barlangfeliratok. In: *Ókor*. Vol. 15, No. 2, 23–30.
- TÖTTÖSSY Csaba 1977: Graeco-Indo-Iranica. In: *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. Vol. 25, 129–135.
- TRIPATHI, Gaya-Charan 1979: The Worship of Kārtavīrya-Arjuna: On the Deification of a Royal Personage in India. In: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. 111, No. 1, 37–52.
- TRIPATHY, Snigdha 1997: *Inscriptions of Orissa Volume I*. New Delhi, Delhi, Indian Council of Historical Research, Motilal Banarsidass.
- TUAN, Yi-Fu 2001 [1977]: *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis, London, University of Minnesota Press.
- UPADHYAYA, Bhagwat Saran 1947: *India in Kalidasa*. Allahabad, Kitabistan.
- VADER, V. H. 1926: Situation of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā: On the Equator. In: *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 2, No. 2, 345–350.
- VASUDEVA, Somadeva (transl.) 2006: *The Recognition of Shakuntala by Kālidāsa*. New York, New York University Press & JJC Foundation / Clay Sanskrit Library/.
- VIDYAVINODA, Padmanatha Bhattacharya 1913–1914: Nidhanpur Copper Plates of Bhaskaravarman. In: *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. 12, 65–79.
- WEBER, Albrecht 1961 [1882]: *The History of Indian Literature*. (Vorlesungen über indische Literaturgeschichte. translated by John Mann and Theodor Zachariae) Varanasi, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office.
- WESTRA, Mirjam 2012: *Exploring the Geographical Data of the Meghadūta. reconstructing the route of the cloud*. unpublished MA-thesis submitted at Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, available online at: <http://ggw.studenttheses.ub.rug.nl/168/1/1112-GW%20%20WESTRA%20M.%20%20Ma-thesis.pdf> (accessed on 31.08.2018.).
- WILLIAMS, Joanna 1973: A Recut Aśokan Capital and the Gupta Attitude towards the Past. In: *Artibus Asiae*. Vol. 35, No. 3, 225–240.
- WILLIS, Michael 2005: Later Gupta History: Inscriptions, Coins and Historical Ideology. In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. 15, No. 2, 131–150.
- 2009: *The Archaeology of Hindu Ritual. Temples and the Establishment of the Gods*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- WILSON, Horace Hayman 1814: *The Mégha Dūta; or Cloud Messenger; a Poem in the Sanscrit Language by Kālidāsa*. Calcutta, College of Fort William.
- WOJTILLA Gyula 2009: The King Is Hunting: Is it Good or Bad? In: Rossi, Paola M. – Pieruccini, Cinzia (eds.) *Kings and Ascetics in Indian Classical Literature*. Milano, Cisalpino.

- ZEDENO, M. Nieves – AUSTIN, Diane – STOFFLE, Richard 1997: Landmarks and Landscape: A Contextual Approach to the Management of American Indian Resources. In: *Culture & Agriculture*. Vol. 19, No. 3, 123–129.
- ZVELEBIL, Kamil V. 1992: *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*. Leiden, New York, København, Köln, E. J. Brill.